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To the Voters

Of Butler, Preble, and Darke Counties, the Second Congressional District of Ohio.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

For the first time, the FRIENDS of CONSTITUTIONAL LIBERTY have presented for your suffrages, a candidate for Congress. The gentleman selected by the Eaton Convention is known to most of you, having long resided in the District,—Dr. M. C. Williams, of Camden, Preble county. The undersigned were appointed by the same Convention, a Committee to state to you, reasons for joining with us in giving a zealous support to this nominee. In the discharge of the duty thus imposed on us, we address you at the present time. For the reasons we shall offer, we ask, from you a candid and deliberate consideration. They have had so much weight with us as to cause us to give up long cherished party attachments, and to bear cheerfully the labor, expense, anxiety, and present unpopularity of this effort. We do not, we assure you, court odium for its own sake. Like others, we are sensible of the delights of applause from our fellow men; but with our strong convictions of the truth of our principles and the necessity to the political salvation of the country of acting on them now, we are compelled to persevere. Should we hesitate, we should be recreants, as patriots and as men. We would, if necessary to the safety of our free institutions, be content to live and die, hated men. That the reasons which influenced us to adopt our present course may influence you to join us, is our earnest hope. But if, after calm and unprejudiced reflection on our principles, and the facts sustaining them, you should decline doing so, we shall utter no railing word, the verdict of a just posterity awaits us both. We shall have the consoling reflection, that in the hour of our country's peril, we, at least, did what we could.

We have frequently declared before you that a single interest, represented by a comparatively small body of men, rules and has ruled for many years in the State and Federal Governments. This is the slaveholding-interest, and its political influence we have usually termed the "Slave Power." If this declaration be proved to you, you will, of course, labor to demolish this "Slave Power." We cannot insult your patriotism by an argument to show that a small body of men should not control a Government founded for and by the People; our object will be simply to demonstrate the fact.

As we assert that slaveholders govern us, let us first inquire into their numbers. It is a vulgar error to suppose that every white man in the Southern States is the owner of slaves. The number of owners is very small, compared with the free adult population of those States, and insignificant compared with that of the whole union. No statistics give the number precisely; but as the census returns state the number of slaves, we may, aided by our knowledge of Southern Society and agriculture, obtain, with convenient certainty, the number of masters. The great staples of the South are cultivated on large plantations demanding, each of them, a large gang of negro laborers. Many of you have seen gangs of more than a thousand, on single plantations. Gen. Wade Hampton is said to have had that number, at least, on his estate on the banks of the Mississippi. Mr. Pollock, of North Carolina, died recently, leaving, according to the newspapers, *fifteen hundred*. Dr. Mercer, of Adams county, Mississippi, has an immense number; and being religiously inclined, he has erected for their use, if we may rely on the Gospel Messenger of August 1842, a "plantation church" costing over $20,000; and keeps an Episcopal Minister employed among them, at a salary of $1200. In the "slave-raising" States, many of the proprietors own large numbers. Mr. Carroll, of Baltimore, a late President of the Colonization Society, has been repeatedly referred to by the papers of that Society as the owner of a thousand.

In the fertile farming Districts of the South, the slaves are gathered in large numbers, and each proprietor owns a large "gang," while in the hilly or barren Districts, slave-labor being unprofitable, there are very few. In the adjoining state of Kentucky, there are scarcely any slaves in the hilly county of Grant, while [illegible] Fayette is crowded with them. In South Carolina, what are called "the Sand-hill counties," covering nearly half the State, are comparatively unproductive and contain very few slaves; while the rich counties on the coast and in the interior, the "Sea-island cotton" counties among them, contain but few whites in comparison with the slaves. In Georgetown District in that State, there are more than 30 slaves to one grown white male; so that, if we take the proportion of masters to the whole number of grown white males as one to five, each master would own more than one hundred and fifty slaves. In hilly Western Virginia, and Eastern Tennessee, there are few negroes, they are owned in other parts of those States. In Brook county, Virginia, the proportion of whites to slaves is as *eighty-five to one*, in Yancy, North Carolina, as *twenty-five to one*, in Union, Georgia, as *thirty-five to one*, in De Kalb, Alabama, as *sixteen to one*; in Fentress, Tennessee, as *forty-three to one*; in Morgan, Kentucky, as *seventy-four to one*, in Taney, Missouri, as *eighty to one*; in Searcey, Arkansas, as *three hundred and eleven to one*; while in other counties of the same States, the proportion is reversed the slaves are numerous and the whites few.

With these facts before us, we should be sustained by most of you in founding our calculations on the basis of twenty slaves to each owner, which, as the number of slaves is 2,487,113, would make the number of owners a little over *one hundred and twenty-four thousand*. But as we wish to avoid the charge, from any opponent however embittered, of exaggeration, we will reduce this average number of twenty to less than thirteen, so as to make in round numbers, *two hundred thousand slaveholders*.

These are not all voters, many of them are minors, aliens or women. The slaveholding voters, then, constitute but a small portion of the four millions and a half of free persons in the slave States, and are not as numerous by some fifty thousand as the voters of our own State of Ohio.

But the slaveholders control the policy of their own States. A glance at Southern Society and constitutions will make the manner of affecting this perfectly plain.

They have all the influence which every where attaches itself to wealth, for the wealth of these States is concentrated in their hands.

They have, too, all the influence of *superior intelligence*. Educating their own children at the Colleges of the North, the High Schools and Academies of the South, or by private tutors at their own mansions, they establish no common schools for the benefit of their poor neighbors, the laboring whites. Chancellor Harper, of South Carolina, advocating slavery in the Literary messenger of October 1838, on the ground that it exempts slaveholders from bodily labor and therefore he says they "have *leisure for intellectual pursuits*, and the *means of obtaining a liberal education*." But among the poor non-slaveholders there reigns the most deplorable ignorance. In 1837, Gov. Clarke, in his message to the Kentucky Legislature, says, "By the computation of those most familiar with the subject, *one-third of the adult population of the State are unable to write their names*." Governor Campbell makes a confession equally extraordinary, in a Report to the Virginia Legislature. He states that it appeared from the returns of 98 clerks, that of 4614 applications for marriage licenses in 1837, 1047 were made by men unable to write their names. By the last census, there are fewer scholars at the public charge in the thirteen slave States than in Ohio alone! They have 35,580; Ohio has 51,812. Kentucky, just across the river from us, has 429! The Richmond compiler contains an interesting summary from the census returns. From this, it appears that the persons who cannot read and write are in Connecticut, *one to five hundred and sixty-eight*; in Vermont, *one to four hundred and seventy-three*; in New Hampshire, *one to three hundred and ten*, while in Louisiana, the *most intelligent* slave State, it is one to *thirty-eight and a half*, and in North Carolina, it runs up to one to *seven*! No wonder then that an united and educated aristocracy rule the masses of the South, who are kept in ignorance by its political and social influence. No wonder that, in the South, the politicians lead the people; not the people the politicians, as in the North.

A third element of the political power of slaveholders is the vast *constitutional privileges* they enjoy, procured by their united action, wealth and intelligence. In all the slave States with, as we believe, but one exception, slaveproperty is represented in the Legislatures. This rule may give a District composed of one hundred voters with their slaves as many Representatives as another of five thousand free voters. It enables Eastern Virginia, with a miserable numerical minority of voters, to control Western Virginia with her large free voting population.

In addition to this, some of the States grant the privilege to a slaveholder of voting in every District in which he may own land. Some of the large proprietors, therefore, may have a dozen votes.

In all of them it is difficult for a non-slaveholder to obtain office, but in some, he is made incompetent by the fundamental law. For instance, in South Carolina, he is excluded from the Legislature by the Constitution. The qualification of a Representative is made, the ownership of such a large Real Estate as makes necessary the ownership of slaves, or else, to use the language of that instrument, "of a settled freehold estate of five hundred acres of land and *ten negroes*." By this, it is made impossible for any other interest than that of the planters to be represented in the State Councils. The rule of South Carolina aristocracy is as complete and as well protected by law as the English nobility.

The enormous political privileges we have mentioned are rendered overwhelming engines against the non-slaveholding masses, when backed by the modern "gerrymandering" which, though used in the North by Whigs against Democrats, and Democrats against Whigs, is used in the South to crush in the germ the spirit of Freedom, and is carried to the most oppressive extreme.—To be satisfied of this, let any one examine the apportionment laws of South Carolina, which give the Representative majority to a small minority in the planting counties.

These laws are aided by others requiring property qualifications, and by the tone of Southern Society which has no tendency to inspire the laboring whites with an interest in public affairs. They do not go to the polls as we of the North do. Examine the returns of the votes at the last Presidential election, if you doubt this, and compare them with the census returns. You will find the number of white males in the slave States and Territories over 20 years of age, was 1,303,307, while the vote for President, at that exciting election, was only [illegible].—With these [illegible] votes, they chose 126 Presidential electors; that is, one elector to [illegible] voters.

The Free States gave 1,738,737 votes, and chose 168 electors; that is one elector to 10,27[illegible] voters. Two Northern voters had a very little more political power therefore, than one Southern. About 300,000 Southern whites would have voted, who did not. To what cause can you attribute this, if not to those we assign?

The natural consequence of the exclusion of the laboring whites of the South from opportunities of education and from political privileges, is their social degradation. They are little esteemed by their lordly neighbors, and are known among slaves by the name of "poor white folks." Those of them whose manliness of spirit is broken down by years of endurance of contempt and insult speak and act more like the serfs of Russian nobles than free born sons of America. To aid this class of our fellow citizens to recover their lost rights, is one object we stand pledged to accomplish. The non-slaveholders of the South will be, in a few years, the strongest wing of the Liberty party.—They have wrongs

> 'To stir a fever in the blood of age,
> And make an infant's sinews strong as steel.'

Southern newspapers teem with abuse of white men who labor for their subsistence. Robert Wickliffe, a prominent Kentucky politician, and a member of a large and influential family, says in a speech published in the Louisville Advertiser, "Gentlemen want to drive out the black population that they may obtain white negroes in their place. White Negroes have this advantage over black negroes, they can be converted into voters; and the men who live upon the sweat of their brow, and pay them but a dependent and scanty subsistence, can, if able to keep ten thousand of them in employment, come up to the polls and change the destiny of the country.

"How improved will be our condition when we have such *white negroes* as perform the servile labors of Europe, of old England, and he would add now, of NEW ENGLAND, when our body servants, and our cart-drivers and our street-sweepers are *white negroes* instead of black. Where will be the independence, the proud spirit, the chivalry of KENTUCKY then!"

For these vaporing, Bobadil speeches, the "white negroes" about Lexington refused to vote for Mr. Wickliffe at the ensuing election, and he was left at home to nurse his "chivalrous" spirit.

Benjamin Watkins Leigh, long a prominent Whig, said in the Virginia Convention of 1829, "Those who depend on their daily labor for their daily subsistence, can never enter into political affairs, they never do, never will, never can."

Mr. Pickens, of South Carolina, in a Congressional speech of January 21, 1836, said, in support of the proposition, that the capitalists of a country should always own the laborers, "If laborers ever obtain the political power of a country, it is in fact in a state of revolution."

Gov. McDuffie, in his celebrated anti-free-labor message of 1836, said, "where these offices [i. e. hard work,] are performed by *members of the political community*, a dangerous element is obviously introduced into the body politic."

Chancellor Harper, in the work before quoted, opposes the education of laborers, and asks triumphantly, "Would you do a benefit to the horse or ox by giving him a cultivated understanding, a fine feeling?"

This then is the spirit of the "Slave Power;"—arrogant, overbearing and cruel, the deadliest foe to our free institutions, and the genius of Republicanism. Heaven protect them from its inroads!

Having examined the number of the slaveholders, their power and its effects in the Southern States, we proceed to demonstrate *their perfect control of the Federal Government*.

If the "two hundred thousand" have controlled the government, they have been its officers. Is this the fact? No intelligent statesman will deny it. Concealed from the people as it has been by northern doughfaces who sacrifice country for party, it is well known to men in public life. The great number of slave-holding officials is almost the first thing that arrests the attention of a Congressman on his first visit to Washington City. Does he go into the Federal Courts? A majority of the Judges on the bench are of the "sacred band," and of the last eight appointed, all were members of it. Does he visit the White House? He sees a slave-holding President, surrounded by slave-holding advisers, and probably, dictating to a slaveholding Secretary the appointment of a slaveholder to a foreign embassy.

Does he turn, with heart swelling with wounded state pride, to the Senate Chamber? A President, Pro-tempore, occupies the chair, Mr. King, of Alabama, or Mr. Mangum, of Carolina, for nobody but one of the "two hundred thousand" can fill the chair of the Vice President in his absence. Does he look into the House of Representatives? For thirty-five years, with the exception of three sessions a slaveholder has filled the Speaker's chair. A few years longer of undisturbed possession will make that chair the property by prescription of the "two hundred thousand," and for a non-slaveholder to aspire to it will be considered a breach of the "compact." The slaveholding speaker has generally appointed slaveholders as chairmen or majorities of important committees; and these chairmen and majorities have used their power to defeat measures designed to benefit free labor; to report bills and encourage projects for the benefit of the sugar, cotton or tobacco interest; to report bills for the distribution of the public monies, giving the south a large share on account of its slave property; and to deluge the country with corrupting anti-republican, pro-slavery doctrines in the shape of Congressional Reports.

Does our inexperienced Congressman expect to find northern men on foreign embassies? Alas for his last hope! The "sacred band" cannot spare any office which may secure their power. The large majority of ministers and charge d'affaires are slaveholders; and the northern men who hold these honorable posts have generally, as Mr. Everett, pledged themselves to the slave-power before their appointment.

Every department of Government is served so—the legislature, the executive and the judiciary. No man need aspire to an honorable station under the Federal Government, unless he is prepared to fall down, at the word of command, and worship the brazen image which the negro worshipped nobility of the south has set up. For your more convenient reference, we put in tabular form the occupancy of the north and south in Federal offices from 1789 to 1843.

TABLE.

	South.	North.
Presidents	[illegible]	[illegible]
Secretaries of State	[illegible]	[illegible]
Judges of S. Court	17	[illegible]
Attorneys General	[illegible]	[illegible]
Speakers H. Rep.	20	9
Secretaries of War	7	9
P. M. General	4	7
Secretaries Navy	6	6
Secretaries Treasury	4	11
Vice Presidents	4	6
Presidents Senate	50	11
Min. and Charge d' Affaires.		
Great Britain	8	6
France	12	7
Spain	11	[illegible]
Russia	6	7
Portugal	5	4
Sweden	3	3
Prussia	1	2
Austria	1	1
Netherlands	5	5
Ghent (to negotiate a Treaty)	2	3
Turkey	2	0
Belgium, 2 Sicilies & Sardinia (by Tyler)	3	1
Mexico	5	[illegible]
Colombia	4	1
Buenos Ayres	2	1
Chili	2	2
Brazil	0	1
Tyler's American charge d' Affaires	4	0
Panama	2	1
	219	135

The "two hundred thousand," then, have ruled the millions, obtaining, by means of executive partiality and their own unbroken unity of action, the *principal* offices of the Republic. But as if the possession of these were not sufficient to secure their cherished institution of an aristocracy worse than the feudal, they have grasped the subordinate offices of the army and navy. According to the statement of Mr. Everett, of Vermont, on the floor of Congress, last winter, 15[illegible] midshipmen were appointed between March 4, 1841, and April 8, 1842; and of these but 54 were from the free states. Mr. Morgan, of New York, stated at the same time, that of 32 midshipmen-at-large, not more than 5 were from the free states, of 9 assistant surgeons but 1, and of 11 pursers but 4. The "two hundred thousand" seem to have posted trusty men at every pass through which an assault might be made on their "peculiar institution."

But not contented with the powerful and salaried offices, they have legislated the contents of the national Treasury into their pockets.

Wherever there has been a surplus for Distribution of the Public monies, slaveholders have insisted on receiving not only their proper share but a large bonus for their property in negroes—said they "you have allowed us to send twenty-five men to Congress to represent our negro property and because you did that you must give us some millions of money." In vain did northern men protest privately against this impudent claim, in vain did they represent to the slaveholders that they, too, might, with the same propriety, claim to have a share for their property in Mills, Manufactories, Ships and Horses, and that the grant by the north of a representation for the slave population did not bind the north to give them, in addition, all the money they wanted.—The "two hundred thousand" were inexorable. What could the northern Congressmen do? If they resisted, the hue and cry of 'abolition' would be raised on them, a fair hearing denied them, and their political hopes blighted. This was the reasoning of most but not of all of them, for there were some who ran with great alacrity to do the dirty work assigned them by southern gentlemen. So the rule of Distribution on the basis of the ratio of Representation instead of free population, insisted on by southern arrogance and submitted to by northern timidity, was adopted. By its operation, the slave states received millions of dollars, on account of their negro property, under the LOAN or SURPLUS REVENUE bill of 1836-7. They received for each free person about 27 cents; the free states about 1[illegible].—South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, & Kentucky, whose free population is less than that of Pennsylvania, received an apportionment of nearly twice as much money as that state did, under this act.

Their share was, - - - 6,754,[illegible]
Pennsylvania's, - - - 3,52[illegible],343

The hard-fisted farmers of the free states will not submit to such robbery under sanction of law. They will not do double duty for half-pay. Five-sixths of the national Revenue come from their hard earnings for the Tariffs tax heavily the articles of common consumption among them, while they admit almost duty free the "negro-cloths" and the wines and silks and other luxuries of the masters. Hence the deep-dye of the iniquity of this rule of Distribution.

But this is not the only occasion on which southern fingers have been rapaciously thrust into the national coffers. In 1840-1, Congress passed an act for the DISTRIBUTION of the proceeds of the PUBLIC LANDS, among the several states. Slave property was again favored. The ratio of Representation was again preferred to free population as the basis of Distribution. The consequence is to New York, that of every three millions of dollars which the United States receives from said sales, the Slave holders cheat her out of $43,721; her present portion for each three millions being $456,636, whereas on the basis of free population, it would have been $500,357.—Whigs who voted for this law, should cease to din in our ears their claims to be considered the champions of Northern Rights; and Democrats, who voted for either of them, should cease to prate against "Sectional Legislation." We prefer deeds to impudent assertions.

The *fifteen millions* expended in purchasing LOUISIANA have been made to enure to the benefit of the Slave-Power. This result was not foreseen at the time of the purchase, for then it was intended that Louisiana should be divided into free states. With this view, Congress prohibited the introduction of slaves for sale into that Territory. This enactment was trodden under foot by the rising Slave Power and the fifteen millions may now be considered a tax on the country for the extension of negro bondage.

But the *five millions* paid for FLORIDA were avowedly paid to strengthen slavery in Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina. Slaves would escape from those states into Florida, which belonged to a nation at profound peace with us. Before purchasing, however, the Slaveholders tried force. A portion of the United States Army, under their direction, made in 1816 a sudden hostile descent on Florida and killed two hundred and seventy negroes and Indians at a farming settlement on the Appalachicola. But the slaves would run away in spite of bomb-shells and grape shot, and it was necessary to own the country that the whole might be secured in their pursuit. So, a year or two after this invasion of the Territory of a friendly power, the Slaveholders took five millions out of the Federal purse to buy it, as a hunting ground for negroes.

The purchase money, however, is a small item in the amount paid by Government to break up this rendezvous for absconding slaves. Some forty millions have been expended in the celebrated "blood-hound war," undertaken for this purpose. The Seminoles refused, as England, France and all civilized nations do, to surrender negroes to persons claiming them as slaves. The enraged masters endeavored, at first, to right themselves, but soon tiring under the burdensome expense, called on a slave-holding Executive to punish the boundless audacity of a weak Indian tribe. In 1834, they forwarded a petition to Gen. Jackson, (which may be found in Doc. 271, 1st Sess. 24th Cong.) praying him to send an army against the Seminoles.

"While this lawless and indomitable people, (says the petition,) continue where they now are, the owners of slaves in our territory and even in the states contiguous, cannot for a moment, in any thing like security, enjoy the *possession of that description of property*."

The Tallahassee slaveholders resolved in 1839, during the armistice with the Indians, that they should be driven out, for "if located in Florida, all the runaway negroes will find refuge and protection with them."

To drive them out, then, was the object of the war, and the Government was reduced to bankruptcy by its mighty efforts against a few Indians. The laurels won have been equally divided between Mr Van Buren and the Cuban auxiliaries. A few more wars like this will teach northern men to bring forward again the almost forgotten doctrine, that the chief object of the Federal Government is not to strengthen slavery.

Add to the sums given above, the *half million* of dollars annually paid by the north to support Post Offices in the Slave-States. The receipts from these, last year, fell short of the expenses, more than *five hundred and seventy one thousand* dollars, while the receipts from northern Post offices exceeded the expenses about six hundred thousand dollars. This amount pays for the convenience of planters who own large tracts of land populated only by their slaves and themselves.—The postage of the newspapers which serve to amuse these gentlemen in their elegant retirement, is paid for by northern men. Some eight or ten cents of the twenty five paid by a northern farmer for a letter go for this purpose.

Another pecuniary burden imposed on non-slave holders by the Slave Power is the heavy discriminating tax of the Haytien Government, on vessels from the United States. Hayti is a negro Republic, forty years old. Her Independence has long been recognized by all the Governments of the civilized world, with the exception of the United States. This national insult, Hayti has avenged by a tax on our vessels so heavy as almost to exclude our merchants from her ports. Still, their trade with her has amounted to more than a million of dollars annually, but, oppressed by the heavy duties, they have again and again petitioned our government to recognize her Independence. Each petition has drawn upon them torrents of abuse from Slave-holding Congressmen. Mr. Legare denounced them as "TRAITORS not only to their country but to the whole human race." This was the answer to a petition of northern men to be free from an onerous tax, imposed on them by the swelling pride of slave holders, and northern democrats stood tamely by without a word, and Whigs trembled at the hardihood of one or two of their number who raised their voices in feeble opposition to the unbridled insolence and coarse vituperation of members of the "sacred band."

But there is a small portion of the "two hundred thousand" who claim to be pre-eminently the special pets of Government,—we mean the sugar planters. Some few years ago, these men, who number, we believe, between one and two thousand, found out, that if Government would only impose a duty on foreign sugar of about 60 *per cent., ad valorem*, they could sell theirs at a good profit. So the Louisiana Legislature, and a Sugar Planters' Convention memorialized Congress on the subject. Their wishes were promptly complied with, as a matter of course. Congress laid a duty on foreign sugar so heavy that the little knot of Louisiana planters now add safely about two and a half cents a pound to the price of theirs.—The Slave-Power taxes our letters and the sugar on our breakfast tables,—what will it lay hands on next?

Those of you who will take the trouble to procure the different TARIFF enactments, will find that they have been quiet but effective instruments for making Non-slaveholders pay the revenues of the Government. This has been done by high import duties on articles of non-slaveholding, and low ones on those of slaveholding consumption. Masters have procured, almost duty free, wines and silks for themselves, and coarse clothing for their negroes. We might go into details on this subject, but our limits forbid it. The ingenuity of this contrivance for draining the pockets of non-slaveholders, or rather of exempting slaveholders from the payment of taxes, will attract you to the investigation.

The Tariff act of 1816 was the progeny of Slaveholding financiers. Mr. Lowndes, of South Carolina, reported the Bill; Mr. J. C. Calhoun spoke in its favor and the slave-state delegation, generally voted for it. Some ignorant and unsuspecting men, believing every body as good as themselves, have supposed that this bill was designed to protect Northern manufactures, which had grown up during the war. Not so, however. The latest biographer of the eminent statesman, Mr. Calhoun, defining his position in relation to this Tariff Act, says page 18, "It has been the general impression that the duties were adjusted by the bill mainly in reference to the protection of manufactures. Such is far from being the fact. With the exception of a few items" * * "the duties would have been arranged substantially as they were, if there had not been a *manufacturing establishment* in the country." What then was the object of the framers of this Act?

The biographer adds that it was "regulated in its details" "by revenue considerations." What these "revenue considerations" were may be gathered from the history of the times. The war had left the government laboring under a heavy debt, and the revenue to pay the interest and principal of this debt was raised by direct taxation under the rule in the Federal Constitution. Under the operation of this rule, the slave States would have had to pay some millions annually on account of their slave-property. It was to rid themselves of this burden that they demanded a Tariff policy. Under it, the revenue would come from northern purses. The policy was adopted and the broad and patient back of the North received the burden so adroitly transferred. It compelled the capitalists of the free States to withdraw their capital from commerce, and invest it in manufactures. The "carrying trade" conducted solely by Yankee enterprise was nearly annihilated. The ships lay rotting at the wharves, and the discharged sailors clamored for employment. But Free Labor accommodated itself to the new National Policy, mill-streams and "water privileges" were made the sources of wealth; neat manufacturing villages dotted the land, and the noise of the loom and click of the hammer told of an industrious and prosperous people. This condition of affairs was viewed with a baleful eye by the Slave-power, and the paying off the national debt in the administration of Gen. Jackson, was the signal for slaveholding denunciation of a Tariff, as unconstitutional and oppressive. The North contended against its abolition as it had done against its creation. But the blustering of slave-holders ushered into life the celebrated compromise Act. John C. Calhoun and Henry Clay officiated at the birth. This Act has smitten the industrial interests of the North as with a palsy. Northern manufactures withered with the gradual reduction of the duties. Foreign merchandise in immense quantities was imported into the country, our precious metals disappeared rapidly, and the result of the fluctuating policy demanded by the Slave-Power may now be read in dilapidated manufacturing towns, broken merchants, States, beggared and the recorded Bankrupt Courts.

The United States Bank was, like the Tariff policy, erected and crushed by the Slave-Power. It was recommended by President Madison, advocated by John C. Calhoun, voted for by Southern men, and put down by *President* Jackson and his supporters. And when under its State charter, it did finally explode, there were due to it from the slave States twenty-seven millions of bad debts. The fortunes of hundreds of Philadelphia families have gone to build slave State rail roads.

Many other instances of changes in national policy might be given, that have borne oppressively on the pecuniary interests of Free Labor, but the above we deem enough to attract your attention to the subject. The same legislation can never be suitable to States differing so widely in all their institutions, political and social, as the Slave and Free States.

The Federal Government has acquired and attempted to acquire, ceded and offered to cede, territory at the bidding of the Slave-Power.

The Slave-Power bade her surrender Louisiana recently acquired and it was done, to buy Florida, and it was done, to acquire Texas, and she strove for years to do it—first, she offered, in 1829, four millions of dollars for it, but as Mexico refused to dismember her territory, our Slaveholding Executive and his successor, "the Northern man with Southern Principles" sought for years for a plausible pretence for war with that republic, that we might wrest Texas from her hands. The Slave-Power bade her cede to England, a vast tract of country in Maine, and it was done, offer to cede, under President Monroe, to the same Government a part of Oregon five times as large as Ohio, and it was done.

We have mentioned above some of the injuries to our pecuniary interests resulting from the trickery of the legislation of the Slave-power, there are others of equal magnitude, the offspring of Slavery itself. Oppression of the laborer is branded with the curse of a just God. It throws a mildew blight on the prosperity of any State guilty of it. It retards population by forcing the emigration, and discouraging the immigration of the poor free laborer; it cripples manufacturing enterprise, impoverishes the soil by a wasteful agriculture, and begets habits of extravagance among the people.—No slaveholding community can long pay its debts. Hence, the periodical monetary distress of the South. Every few years sees her prostrate. So often has this been the case, that Northern men have almost learned not to trust the paper promises of the slave-holder.—The New York merchants demand of him now cash or the best security. Bitter experience has taught them prudence,—Heavy losses have made them wise. Some of these merchants have estimated the loss of the free States for the last twenty years in Southern trade, at 300 millions. Many of you are now the creditors of southern gentlemen, of one half whom will, probably, never be able to pay you.

And here permit us to digress to make one reflection. What an incalculable gain would it be to us, were the planting States cultivated by free laborers! Now, the master spends about fifteen dollars a year for the slaves' subsistence; then, each laborer, and their numbers would greatly increase, would expend a hundred on himself and family. Our hatters, shoemakers, coopers, calico-venders, weavers, wool-growers, wheat-growers, and hog-raisers would find a ready sale for their various articles. Gold would, then, "flow up the Mississippi."

Although the heavy hand of the Slave Power is laid on each and every interest of Free Labor to wither and destroy, we are denied the right to remonstrate.

When the attention of freemen was aroused, some nine years since, to the doings of the slave-holding aristocracy in our republic, and editors began to write, and pamphleteers to print about them, the whole "two hundred thousand" were thrown into a violent rage. They caught all the disaffected within their borders, banished them or inflicted on them the most cruel punishment; offered large rewards for certain northern citizens, "dead or alive;" called on the Free States to suppress free discussion, on peril of a dissolution of the Union; and on the Federal Government to prohibit the circulation through the mails of any paper containing a word against their peculiar system of Aristocracy. And when these undaunted freemen respectfully petitioned Congress for a "redress of grievances," nothing could stand before their fury—not even the Sacred Constitution itself, which one of their greatest men called "a miserable, tattered and blotted parchment mockery." At a single blow, they struck down the right of petition. They would have no complaining against their iron rule. Though they had ridden and beaten the North at their own pleasure, they refused it the poor privilege of Balaam's ass—of murmuring when struck. While the slave-holders stormed, Northern Representatives looked on and trembled, and afterwards (Hon. J. B. Weller, among them,) voted, most of them, as they were ordered. They have been kept well drilled ever since.

A short time ago, Mr. Giddings had the boldness to offer in the Lower House, some resolutions, not very palatable to the Slave holders. They determined to drive him from the House as a warning to all other members from the North not to whisper against slavery, but, by the Rules of the House, they could not themselves introduce immediately the resolutions of censure. A northern man was to be selected; and in looking about for a suitable person to do the work, they found him in our honorable representative, Mr. Weller. Mr W did their bidding promptly and they returned their thanks through Mr. Botts. Mr. Giddings was, of course, censured.

But a greater evil than clique-rule, pecuniary losses and gag-laws is that we are living down the fundamental principles of our Republic. Established to promote Liberty, it has been perverted to extend and perpetuate slavery. The genial rays of Freedom have been exchanged for the lurid glare of despotism. The stripes on the national banner are daily widening and may shortly cover up the stars. The Slave-Power, once so weak that infant Freedom might have strangled it, now in its giant strength, seizes the purse and sword of a Free Republic, stamps on its tattered Constitution and hurls with ruin the champions of Freedom to the dust. The heart sickens at the melancholy contrast between America now and America in '76 and '87. Then, Congress declared that "the rights contended for by the American colonies were the rights of human nature;" that they were rights which no man could alienate, Washington published that it was "among his first wishes" to have slavery "abolished by law" and that his "suffrage should never be wanting." Jefferson and Madison denounced slavery as "the foul blot on our country's escutcheon" and sought its abolition in Virginia; such men as Jay, Franklin, Hamilton, Witherspoon, Rush, Morris, Wilson and Wythe were officers or active members of abolition Societies, the States followed each other, in rapid succession, in the glorious work of emancipation, Congress abolished slavery forever in the North Western Territory, forbade the introduction of slaves for sale into the Louisiana, denounced the African Slave trade as piracy, and the recognition of its existence was avoided, as far as possible, in the Constitution. All men expected soon to see the last fetter on the last slave in our free Union.

Now, the inalienableness of human liberty is ridiculed as a "rhetorical flourish;" the hellish doctrines of tyranny are openly advocated; to oppress the laborer seems to be almost a necessary qualification for office; slavery of the laboring population is extended over seven new slave states, over the District of Columbia and the Territory of Florida; the clanking of chains and the groans and cries of separated families mingle under the walls of the Capitol with the frothy and hypocritical declamation in favor of human freedom of eloquent Congressmen, the African Slave Trade flourishes in its horrible activity; the unpalliated contradiction between our professions and practice is making us a hissing and a by-word through the civilized world, the press is shackled and freedom of speech trampled down; friends of human liberty travel, at the peril of their lives, through thirteen states of the Union; and every citizen holds his house and property at the will of a lawless and capricious mob held in leash by the Slave-Power. Our hearts bleed at the contemplation of this wide spread ruin in our beloved land, and we have pledged ourselves and ours, on the altar of our country's honor, to defeat the Slave Power. We shall triumph. Truth and humanity are our allies. The voices of our dead fathers cheer us on. The blood they freely spilled for the rights of man cries to us from the battle-stained fields it consecrates, to be up and doing. The graves of those noble men, who perilled all for liberty and blenched not in the hour that tried men's souls, stir us to emulate their energy. We shall prove that we inherit the spirit as well as the names of our ancestors, and moved by that spirit, we declare that the world shall not long hear the clanking of chains on the fields of our Revolutionary glory or taunt the freemen of this Republic with a basely slavish submission to an idle and overbearing aristocracy.

But while we loath from our inmost souls that aristocracy, we shall discourage the use of unconstitutional means to prostrate it. In all we do, we shall stand fast by the Constitution of our fathers. We thank God, it is well fitted to secure the rights we contend for. Under its protection, the Liberty men in the Slave States will labor for the recovery of their rights and the abolition of Slavery; in the Free States, for the repeal of oppressive laws dictated by the Slave-Power, and, in the whole Union, to exclude the disturbing force of slavery from the action of the Government; to secure a permanent policy on the subject of the Tariff and Currency; to abolish Sectional Legislation; to vindicate the right of petition; to restore impartiality to the Executive and Judiciary, to promote the interest and secure the rights of the free laborer; to open the market of the world to his productions; to prevent lavish expenditures of the national monies for the support of the state institution of Slavery; to abolish that institution in the national domains, Florida and the District of Columbia; and to restore to its original brightness the tarnished honor of our Republic, by making it what its founders designed it to be, the freest Government in the World.

The best and only means to effect these objects, is a separate political organization. Should we endeavor to effect them through the instrumentality of the Whig or of the Democratic party, we should deserve the contempt of sensible men.—The leaders of these parties are either slaveholders or pledged to the Slave Power; this power has grown to its present giant size by their assistance; neither of them adopt our measures or avow our principles; and our principles and ourselves have been abused in the most unmeasured terms by their principal editors and leaders. Human ingenuity has been racked to slander us, and the English language exhausted of its abusive epithets for our denunciation. They have been our openly avowed enemies through the whole country.—It is true, that in a few sections of the Free States, some of the less prominent

Letter from the Honorable John Quincy Adams.

In view of the recent demonstrations of affection for John Quincy Adams, and of his contemplated visit to Cincinnati, the following letter from the [illegible] patriot will be read with peculiar interest. It was written on the [illegible] of an invitation to address a Convention in Maine, assembled to commemorate the 1st of August. It is certainly one of the most [illegible] of all his productions. The fires of his spirit burn brighter, as those of his body decay.

Quincy, 4th July, 1843.

FELLOW CITIZENS:

I have received your letter of the 9th ult., and perhaps, in answering it, my safest and most prudent course would be to express my regret, that the precarious state of my health, and particularly of my voice, would not warrant me in undertaking an engagement to deliver a public address upon any subject whatever, on the first day of next August. This answer I have been most reluctantly constrained to give to several other kind invitations to address the people on various subjects, in the course of the ensuing summer and autumn. But the occasion of which you propose to celebrate the anniversary, is viewed in lights so entirely different and opposite to each other, that it cannot be denied to have assumed both a religious and a political aspect, and this must be my apology, while returning my thanks for your friendly invitation, for frankly unfolding to you other reasons which would have dictated to me the same conclusion, even if the state of my health admitted of my compliance with it.

The extinction of slavery from the face of the earth, is a problem, moral, political, religious, which at this moment rocks the foundations of human society throughout the regions of civilized man. It is, indeed, nothing more nor less than the consummation of the Christian religion. It is only as immortal beings that all mankind can in any sense be said to be born equal—and when the Declaration of Independence affirms as a self-evident truth, that all men are born equal, it is precisely the same as if the affirmation had been that all men are born with immortal souls. For take away from man his soul, the immortal spirit that is within him, and he would be a mere tameable beast of the field, and like others of his kind, would become the property of his tamer. Hence it is, too, that by the law of nature and of God, man can never be made the property of man. And herein consists the fallacy with which the holders of slaves often delude themselves, by assuming that the test of property is human law. The soul of one man cannot by human law be made the property of another. The owner of a slave is the owner of a living corpse, but he is not the owner of a man.

The natural equality of mankind affirmed by the signers of the Declaration of Independence to be held by them as a self-evident truth, was not so held by their enemies. It was not so held by the King and Parliament of Great Britain. They held the reverse. They held that sovereign power was unlimitable. That the tie of allegiance bound the subject to implicit obedience, and, therefore, that the natural equality of mankind was a fable. This was THE question of the American Revolutionary War. In the progress of that war, France, Spain, and the United Netherlands became involved in it. The Governments of France and Spain, absolute monarchies, had no sympathies with the American cause—the rights of human nature. Vergennes had plotted with Gustavus of Sweden, the revolution in Sweden, from liberty to despotism. Turgot, very shortly before the surrender of Burgoyne, but after our Declaration of Independence, had formally advised Louis the Sixteenth, that it was for the interest of France and Spain, that the insurrection in the Anglo-American colonies should be *suppressed.*—France and Spain had been warned of the remote consequences to them *as owners of colonies,* of the success of the Anglo-Americans. But neither Turgot nor Vergennes, nor any one European or American statesman of that age, foresaw or imagined what would be the consequence, by no means remote, upon their own Governments at home, of the dismemberment of the British Empire, and the triumphant establishment, by a seven years' war on the continent of North America, of an Anglo-Saxon confederate nation, on the foundation of the natural equality of mankind, and the unalienable rights of man.

After Louis the Sixteenth lost his crown, he remembered and bitterly repented the part he had taken on the side of the natural equality of mankind, and the rights of human nature in the American Revolutionary War. For the revolution in France, by which he lost his throne and his life, was another fruit of the same self-evident truth, that all men are born equal, and have a RIGHT to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, without infringing upon the same right of all other men.

Until the day of the Declaration of Independence, the condition of slavery was recognized as lawful in all the English colonies. The Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, established three years after the Declaration of Independence, adopted its self-evident truths, and the Judges of the Supreme Court of the Commonwealth, under that Constitution, judicially decided that slavery within the Commonwealth was thereby *ipso facto* abolished. Since that day, there has not been a slave within the State.

The author of the Declaration of Independence was a slaveholder. His self-evident truths taught him that slave-holding was an outrage upon the natural rights of mankind, at least as great as Parliamentary taxation without representation. He held that opinion to his dying day. He introduced it into his draught of the Declaration of Independence itself, imputing the existence of slavery in Virginia, to George the Third, as one of the crimes which proved him to be a tyrant unfit to rule over a free people.

Among the signers of the Declaration of Independence, there were at least twenty slaveholders—or probably thirty. They could not stomach this application of the self-evident truths to themselves, and they lopped it off as an unsightly excrescence upon the Tree of Liberty. But his grandson and executor has carefully preserved it in the double form of print and fac simile, in the edition which he has published of his writings, and there it stands, an unanswerable testimonial to posterity, that in the roll of American Abolitionists, first and foremost after the name of George Washington, is that of *Thomas Jefferson.*

The result of the North American revolutionary war had prepared the minds of the people of the British Islands to contemplate with calm composure the new principle engrafted upon the association of the civilized race of man, the self-evident truth, the natural equality of mankind and the rights of man. They had waged against it a cruel and disastrous war of seven years. Hundreds of thousands of valiant Britons had fallen victims,—hundreds of millions of British treasure had been squandered, to sustain the principle of illimitable sovereignty against the principle of illimitable human rights. The prize of the conflict was the liberty and the immortal soul of man. The contest was over between Britain and her children.—The Lord of Hosts had decided the wager of battle. Human liberty was triumphant, and a new confederation entered upon the field of human affairs, with the Urim and Thummim of the Law from Sinai, "Light and Right," inscribed upon her bosom, and upon the diadem around her brow "Holiness to the Lord."

But while this contest had been in progress, both of intellectual conflict and of mortal combat, the same question of human right against lawless power had been started in the land of both combatants, parties to this controversy. The question of the American revolution had been of political government in the relations of sovereign and subject. Anthony Benezet, a native of France, settled in Pennsylvania, a member of the Society of Friends, and Granville Sharp, an English philanthropist, at London, were at the same time blowing the bugle horn of human liberty and the natural equality of mankind, against the institution of slavery practised from time immemorial by all nations, ancient and modern.

There were two modes of slavery which had crept in upon the relations of mankind to one another, first as the result of war, by the right of conquest, and secondly, by the voluntary servitude of the feudal system. They had both become odious, by the silent progress of Christianity. The practice of enslaving prisoners taken in war, had already ceased between Christian nations. The traffic in slaves had been denounced by the popular writers both of France and England—by Locke, Addison, and Sterne, as well as by Raynal, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Voltaire. It was every where odious, but every where practised, till just after the close of the American revolutionary war arose the cry for the abolition of the African slave trade. The first assault of the Reformers was upon the trade, which was prosecuted with such atrocious cruelty, that the mere narrative of its ordinary details excited disgust and horror.

"Sweet are the uses of adversity," saith Shakspeare, and "in the day of adversity consider," saith yet higher authority. In the summer of 1783, when the trouble of the revolutionary war presented themselves to the people of the British Islands, in the darkest form of adversity, they had, and they improved the opportunity, of considering the principle for which, and the principle against which they had so obstinately and fiercely contended. Their warfare had been against the self-evident truth of human rights.—Thomas Clarkson, a member of the Society of Friends, with two or three other Englishmen, associated themselves together with the purpose of arraying the power of the British Empire for the total abolition of slavery throughout the earth, and the commission with which they went forth to regenerate the race of man, by leading captivity captive, was the same identical, self-evident truth against which Britain had just closed her rebellious war, in humiliation and defeat—that one men to make this identical principle the inscription upon her banners—to war against slavery by the natural rights of mankind, and to proclaim the jubilee shout of liberty throughout the land—throughout the globe.

Of that undertaking, Clarkson himself has written the history. He has shown in what small beginnings it commenced,—by what slow and almost imperceptible progress it advanced,—by what interests, prejudices and passions it was perpetually obstructed. How many years it was before it could obtain admission to the hall of legislation in the British House of Commons.—How, in the mean time, it had been silently making its way to the hearts of the British people. How many struggles of argument and of eloquence it had to encounter, before it could lay prostrate all opposition at its feet—and how this emanation of the Christian faith, after waiting eighteen hundred years for its development, came down at last like a mighty flood, and is even now under the red cross of St. George, overflowing the white cliffs of Albion, and sweeping the slave trade and slavery from the face of the terraqueous globe.

People of that renowned Island! children of the land of our forefathers, proceed—proceed in this glorious career, till the whole earth shall be redeemed from the greatest curse that has ever afflicted the human race—proceed, until millions upon millions of your brethren of the human race, restored to the rights with which they were endowed by your and their Creator, but of which they have been robbed by ruffians of their own race, shall send their choral shouts of redemption to the skies in blessings upon your names. Oh! with what pungent mortification and shame must I confess, that in the transcendant glories of that day, our names will not be associated with yours! May Heaven in mercy grant that we may be spared the deeper damnation of seeing our names recorded, not among the liberators, but with the oppressors of mankind.

Fellow citizens! the first impulse of the regeneration of human liberty came from us—the Fourth of July is our anniversary day. Then was the principle proclaimed to the world as that which was to be the vital spark of our existence as a community among the nations of the earth. This is the brightness of our glory, and of this we cannot be bereaved. But how can we presume to share in the festivities and unite in the songs of triumph of the first of August?—Have we emancipated our slaves? Have we enlisted ourselves in a hundred [illegible] to persuade and prevail upon the man-stealer to relinquish his grasp upon his prey? Have we encompassed sea and land, and sounded the clarion of freedom to the ends of Heaven, to break the chains of slavery in the four quarters of the earth? Has the sanction of our eloquence moved the bowels of compassion of the holy pontiff of the Roman Catholic Church, to give his commands to his Christian flock against slavery and the slave trade? Have we softened the heart of the fiery Mussulman of Tunis, the follower of the war-denouncing prophet of Mecca, to proclaim liberty throughout his land? Are we carrying into Hindostan the unexpressible blessings of emancipation? Are we knocking upon the everlasting gates and overleaping the walls of China, to introduce into that benighted empire [illegible] concentrated sunbeam the light of civil and of Christian liberty? Oh! no, my countrymen! [illegible] all this. Instead of all this, are we not suffering our own hands to be manacled, and our own feet to be fettered with the chains of slavery? Is it not enough to be told that by a fraudulent perversion of language in the Constitution of the United States, we have falsified the Constitution itself, by assigning [illegible] Legislative and Executive departments of the Government an overwhelming representation of one species of property to the exclusion of all others, and that the odious property in slaves!

Is it not enough, that by this exclusive privilege of property—representation confined to one section of the country, an irresistible ascendency in the action of the General Government has been secured, not indeed to that section, but to an oligarchy of slave-holders in that section—to the oppressor of the poor in that same section itself? Is it not enough that by the operation of this radical [illegible] in the organization of the Government, an immense disproportion of all offices, from the highest to the lowest, civil, military, naval, Executive and Judicial, are held by slave-holders! Have we not seen the sacred right of petition totally suppressed for the people of the free States during a succession of years, and is it not yet inexorably suppressed? Have we not seen for the last twenty years, the Constitutions and solemn treaties with foreign nations, trampled on by cruel oppression and lawless imprisonment of colored mariners in the Southern States, in cold-blooded defiance of a solemn adjudication by a Southern judge in the Circuit Court of the Union?—And is this not enough? Have not the people of the free States been required to renounce for their citizens the right of habeas corpus and trial by jury, and to coerce that base surrender of the only practical security to all personal rights? Have not the slave-breeders, by State legislation, subjected to fine and imprisonment, the colored citizens of the free States, for merely coming within their jurisdiction? Have we not tamely submitted for years, to the daily violation of the freedom of the post-office and of the press, by a committee of seal-breakers, and have we not seen a sworn Post-Master General formally avow, that though he could not license this ex-parte protection of the peculiar institution, the perpetrators of this highway robbery must justify themselves by the plea of necessity? And has the pillory or the penitentiary been the reward of that Post-Master General? Have we not seen printing presses destroyed—halls erected for the promotion of human freedom levelled with the dust, and consumed by fire, and wanton, unprovoked murder perpetrated with impunity, by slave-drivers? Have we not seen human beings made in the image of God and endowed with immortal souls, burnt at the stake, not for their offences but for their color? Are not the annals of the Senate disgraced by resolutions calling for war, to indemnify the slave pirates of the Enterprise and the Creole, for the self-emancipation of their slaves, and to inflict vengeance, by a death of torture, upon the heroic self-deliverance of Madison Washington? Have we not been eleven years plotting rebellion against our neighbor Republic of Mexico, for abolishing slavery throughout all her provinces? Have we not aided and abetted one of her provinces in insurrection against her for that cause? And have we not invaded openly, and sword in hand, another of her provinces, and all to effect her dismemberment and to add ten more slave States to our confederacy? Has the cry of war for the conquest of Mexico, for the expansion of re-instituted slavery, for the robbery of priests, and the plunder of religious establishments yet subsided?—Have the pettifogging, hair-splitting, nonsensical, and yet inflammatory bickerings about the right of search, pandering to the thirst for revenge in France, panting for war to prostrate the disputed title of her being—has the prospect of this war-trumpet yet faded away upon our ears? Has the supreme and unparalleled absurdity of stipulating by treaty to keep a squadron of eighty guns for five years, without intermission, upon the coast of Africa, to suppress the African slave trade, and at the same time denying at the point of the bayonet, the right of that squadron to board or examine any slaver at but sailing under a cargo of victims, if she but hoist a foreign flag—has this diplomatic bone been yet picked clean? Or is our *indirect* participation in the African slave trade to be protected at whatever expense of blood and treasure? Is the Supreme Executive Chief of this Commonwealth yet to speak not for himself, but for her whole people, and pledge them to shoulder their muskets, and to endorse their knapsacks against the fanatical, non-resistant abolitionists, whenever the overseers may please to raise the bloody flag, with the swindling watchword of the Union? Oh! my friends! I have not the heart to join in the festivity on the first of August, the British anniversary of disenthralled humanity, while all this, and infinitely more that I could tell—but that I would spare the blushes of my country—weigh down my spirits, with the uncertainty, sinking into my grave as I am, whether she is doomed to be numbered among the first liberators or the last oppressors of the race of immortal man.

Let the long trodden-down African, restored by the cheering voice and Christian hand of Britain, to his primitive right and condition of manhood, clap his hands and shout for joy on the anniversary of the first of August. Let the lordly Briton strip off much of his pride on other days of the year, and reserve it all for the pride of conscious beneficence on that day. What lover of classical learning can read the account in Livy or in Plutarch, of the restoration to freedom of the Grecian states by the Roman Consul Flamininus, without feeling his bosom heave and his blood flow cheerfully in his veins? The heart leaps with sympathy when we read, that on the first proclamation by the herald, the immense assembled multitude in the tumult of astonishment and joy, could scarcely believe their own ears—that they called back the herald and made him repeat the proclamation, and then—"*Tum ab certo jam gaudio tantus cum clamore plausus est ortus, iterumque repetitus, ut facile appareret, nihil omnium bonorum multitudini gratius quam libertatem esse.* Then rang the welkin with long and redoubled shouts of exultation, clearly proving that of all the enjoyments accessible to the hearts of men, nothing is so delightful to them as Liberty."

Upwards of two thousand years have revolved since that day, and the first of August is to the Britons of this age, what the day of the proclamation of Flamininus was to the ancient Roman. Yes—let them celebrate the first of August as the day to them of [illegible] and of glory—and leave to us the pleasant employment of commenting upon their motives, of devising means to shelter the African slaver from their search, and [illegible] millions to support on a pestilential coast a squadron of the stripes and stars, with instructions never to scuttle their ships than to molest the pirate-slaver who shall make his flagstaff the herald of a lie.

Apologizing to you, gentlemen, for the length of this letter, I will close it with an ejaculation to Heaven, that you may live to celebrate the first of August, the day when slavery shall be proclaimed a word without a meaning in all the languages of earth, and when the power of emancipation shall be extinguished in Universal Freedom. To share in the jubilant chorus of that day, if my voice should burst from the cerements of the tomb, it should be to shout Hallelujah for the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth! let the earth rejoice and be glad!

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

A DESCRIPTION.—Dr. Beecher, in a sermon in the Theatre, Boston, recently fitted up as a church, thus describes Fanny Elssler. "Her *pants* were in such close imitation of nature as baffled discrimination between costume and flesh—with her short over dress, rising as she whirled around amid shouts of applause which might have made the devil blush, and Jezebel too, had it been there, burn with indignation, and hang her head in shame."

A FAIR RACE.—DIXON H. LEWIS, the *broadest* man in the State of Alabama, is running as the democratic candidate, against Gen. Henry C. Lea, of Perry county, the *tallest* man in the same State. Though the latter has the longest legs, Lewis has the greatest girth, and his adversary will find it a difficult job to beat him.

Heroic actions have something divine in them, and attract the favor of heaven.

THE PHILANTHROPIST.

EDITED BY G. BAILEY JR.

CINCINNATI.

Wednesday, August 30, 1843.

To the Friends of the Philanthropist.

If I knew in what terms to address you, so as to move you to adequate efforts to sustain the Philanthropist, I should be a fortunate man. When I tell you that upon your subscriptions alone depends the paper, that when you fail in punctuality I must fail; that when you suffer yourselves to fall into arrears, I fall into arrears; that my reputation as a man of business and veracity rests upon your fidelity to your engagements; have I not said enough to move you? When I say further, that for the last three weeks, the receipts have fallen far short of the expenditures, and that I have no capital to make up the deficiency, is it not enough?

One year ago, when I became proprietor of the paper, I threw myself upon you for support, and was not disappointed. Enough of you paid punctually to sustain the paper, with its debt, paid within three weeks.

Punctuality on your part is demanded now more than ever. For the sake of our common cause, and certainly against my own [illegible], I have undertaken the publication of a daily paper. I have done so with the determination to maintain it at the sacrifice, if need be, of all I have. It is foolish to embark in undertakings, with any other feeling than that of stubborn determination to go ahead. But, I never could have been persuaded to make such a venture, unless I had confided in you. I knew, that if you would come up to the mark, & pay your subscriptions punctually to the Philanthropist, I could, sustain the Daily, but not otherwise. The success or failure of the project rests then with you. The only merit on my part is FAITH IN YOUR PUNCTUALITY.

Let us all then to our posts, trusting in each other. Let him who is in arrears, pay up. Let him who is entering on a new volume, pay up. Let every local agent be active. Let every friend of the paper send at least one new subscriber, remembering that the weekly is to be enlarged, that it will contain a great deal more matter, and furnish more general intelligence.

Then I can sustain Daily, Weekly, and Monthly, devote myself to them with spirit, and do even drudgery with delight.

This is a fair bargain, is it not? Do then your part, and I will do mine.

The Reasons.

In our Prospectus, inserted in this day's paper, we but glance at some of the reasons for commencing the Herald. A clearer exposition of them is demanded.

1. A false impression, in our opinion, prevails with regard to the protection alleged to be afforded to slavery by the Federal Constitution. We know of no press belonging to the whig or democratic party, which maintains what we hold to be, the true doctrine on this subject. The relations of the Constitution to slavery, and the duties of the American people in view of them, will be legitimate topics of discussion in the Herald. Our principles are those of the Declaration of Independence. In the light of these, and in the spirit which fired the hearts of the Fathers of the Revolution, we feel bound to construe the Constitution.

2. Democracy is the last, and, we believe, the best form of human government. But, where the people govern, and entire freedom of investigation and action is secured, a certain degree of instability will necessarily characterize legislation.—Still, where the people are generally intelligent, as in this country, it might justly be expected, that in the course of a few years, on most important questions, a fixed and uniform policy would be understood and agreed upon. What is the fact? After the lapse of more than half a century since the adoption of the Constitution, the American people are obliged to confess that one of the greatest evils under which they have suffered, has been the constantly fluctuating policy of the government upon every question of magnitude—a policy which has kept in [illegible] the vital interests of the community.

To what are we to attribute this evil? If the Herald can throw any light upon this question, [illegible] reason will be furnished for its establishment.

3. That a country, with superabundant natural resources, with a population highly intelligent, shrewd and industrious, with the amplest field for their [illegible] enterprise, and [illegible] should, in the midst of profound peace, be overwhelmed with bankruptcy and crippled in all its financial facilities, is a phenomenon, almost without a parallel. Many causes for this state of things have been assigned by the political press, some possessing much weight, many of them, utterly absurd. One of the great causes, perhaps the principal one, has scarcely been adverted to. When we name slavery as this cause, we but expose what the people guess, and the political papers will not yet be compelled to admit.

A desire to give the whole truth on this point is another reason for [illegible] our Herald.

4. The attention of the public is beginning to be directed to the fact, that the administration of the Federal Government has fallen into the hands of a slaveholding [illegible]; that its general policy is controlled, not by a permanent regard to the interests of Free-Labor, but by a fixed purpose to make Slave-Labor the Chief Interest of the Union. On this subject, the political press has [illegible] the fact can be demonstrated beyond all contradiction. And to this point the Herald will devote some consideration.

5. Increasing insubordination, and a growing [illegible] of Rights, are [illegible] by the press. Has it [illegible] the case, which has [illegible]? For thirty years we have been removed from war with its malignant influences.—We are far removed from the pernicious atmosphere of the Old World. Education and Temperance have received a large share of public attention, and the means of diffusing knowledge have been vastly multiplied—while [illegible] And yet the nation has gone down [illegible] in morals; and the nation's legislatures are disgraced by scenes of violence and vulgarity. We are far from saying that these evils are attributable solely to the influences of slavery; but, shall Americans, who ascribe a large portion of the vice and crime and misery of the Old World to the workings of *Despotism,* deny that [illegible] the same [illegible] principle, in the New? In [illegible] the Herald [illegible] which is most efficient.

6. Not seldom we hear the complaint, that the Government [illegible] foreign power, [illegible] does not [illegible] spirit, and [illegible] which the [illegible] of the people it represents, demands. There is a reason for this—a reason disgraceful to the American name, and which we shall [illegible].

7. Finally, we maintain that slavery [illegible] the District of Columbia, in Florida, [illegible]

[illegible]

With slavery, [illegible] But, whatever [illegible] George Washington, the Father of his country.

"I can only say," he remarked, in his letter to Robert Morris, "that there is not a man living who wishes more sincerely than I do to see a plan adopted for the abolition of it; but there is only one proper and effectual mode by which it can be accomplished, and that is by legislative authority; and this, as far as my suffrage will go, shall not be wanting."

To our Patrons and Readers.

In commencing the publication of a paper with such an object as is announced in our prospectus, we confess we feel some anxiety [illegible]

The [illegible] to Truth, [illegible] "Let not your good be evil spoken of," is a maxim he ought ever to bear in mind. We know that in the discussion of any exciting question, the temptation on one hand is, to uncharitableness and denunciation,—on the other, to compromise and timidity of speech. Uniformly to maintain the due medium is beyond the power of man. But, if there must be an occasional divergence from the true path, who would not prefer the sternness of Luther to the laxity of Melancthon?

We need scarcely say that we shall strive to publish an *independent paper.* Approving, as we do, of the objects and doctrines of the Liberty movement, and intending to give them all reasonable support, we but express the feeling of every honest mind, when we disclaim all slavish subjection to party. No man should study his principles in the light of a party-creed, or determine his duties by the rule of a party-policy. As an *individual,* he is bound to form his judgments and regulate his conduct by the standards of reason and revelation.

By *independence,* we mean, not a disregard of [illegible]

[illegible]

Royal Correspondence.

Queen Victoria lately received a very [illegible] from her royal brother, King Denny, of the Gaboon river, Africa. It was transmitted among other documents to Captain Tucker. It seems that the Queen made a [illegible] handkerchief. The letter is as follows:

"To Queen of England.

"SISTER—King Denny, of Gaboon, [illegible] River Gaboon, [illegible] you send me by Captain Tucker, [illegible]

"King Denny [illegible] Queen's [illegible]

"King Denny [illegible] Queen [illegible] and cheese.

"And King Denny wish [illegible] coat, [illegible]

"King Denny very glad to hear Queen got husband.

"King Denny Town,
3d day of Moon,
i. e., May 10, 1840."

KING ✕ DENNY.

The Queen graciously agreed to send the unmentionables provided His majesty would engage to abolish the slave trade.

Suspension Bridges.

[illegible]

In 1842, the [illegible] at Fairmount, [illegible] The length of the flooring is 343 feet; [illegible]

The weight of the entire woodwork is 113 tons [illegible] necessary to break them. On the completion of the bridge, its strength was tested by placing 39 carts and horse, the former loaded each with two tons of stones, on the flooring, while some one or two hundred people were on the footways; but all this weight subjected the cables to but one fifth of the force necessary to break them. The whole cost of the bridge was $55,000.

"The peculiar advantages of these structures," says Mr. Ellett, "is due to the power which they furnish of bridging rivers of great breadth, at moderate cost, and without the necessity of intermediate supports. If the breadth of the stream is not over the third of a mile, and the object is sufficient to justify the expense, a bridge may be constructed *without the need of a pier in the channel.* Where it is expedient, therefore, to avoid obstructing the water-way, or impairing the navigation,—where it is essential to elevate the flooring far above the surface of the river, or where the expense of permanent foundations for the piers will be great, this system will be found to present remarkable claims."

Mr. Ellett shows conclusively, what every man [illegible] over the [illegible] are out of the question. A suspension bridge over the Ohio, at Cincinnati, might be constructed, he believes, [illegible] at a cost of only $[illegible] [illegible]

Mr. Ellett [illegible]

Complete Suffrage Union.

Joseph Sturge, the [illegible] Quaker, and [illegible] English Abolitionist, is President of the Complete Suffrage Union [illegible]

[illegible]

TREASON, &c.—General Duff Green, we understand, has been haunting several weeks at the Anti-Slavery office in London, and gathering up the proceedings of the World's Convention. So we may expect to hear thunder soon. We hope the people of the United States will keep cool.

Idol-Worship.

[illegible]

In America, we [illegible] Clay, Daniel Webster, J. C. Calhoun, Martin Van Buren, [illegible]

[illegible] Their position as leaders, their success as political aspirants, depends upon exaggerating points of difference, and keeping out of view, common grounds of belief.

Our mistake is, in attributing too much to *government,* and too little to the *governed*—thinking too highly of the *Few,* too meanly of the *Many.* For the last thirty years we have tried the idol-system, and whither has it led us? What have our gods done for us, that we should [illegible] any longer? [illegible] of our eyes, [illegible] portion of [illegible] then [illegible] importance to the wisdom of *leaders?*

A few days since a friend told us he would not support our paper, for he wanted to see Henry Clay elected President. He thought the salvation of the republic depended on his arm. Just before the last [illegible] election, a gold [illegible] assured us, that he would go to Texas should General Harrison be defeated [illegible] Harrison [illegible] *People* [illegible]

[illegible]

Names.

[illegible]

Lard Oil.

[illegible]

☞ [illegible]

Sister-Enterprises.

Temperance, Anti-Slavery, Peace and Education are [illegible] affiliated in fact, if not in form. The Anti-Slavery movement respects the *Liberty*, the Cause of Peace, the *Life* of Man. Education would elevate the intellect, Temperance subjects his appetites. The first two are concerned with the outward condition, the last two regard the inward life. Freedom and Peace must precede Education and Temperance, but these again tend to perpetuate the former. Slavery and War are the hotbeds of every bad passion, and rear the sensual above the intellectual man. Where they prevail, Ignorance and Intemperance curse the land.

All these enterprises look to one object—the security, the elevation, and the development of the individual man. The advancement of one, is the advancement of all. Injury sustained by one, is felt by all. Free the body and you more educate the mind. Give peace to nations, and allay turbulent passions, and they will turn their attention to the True and the Good. Or perpetuate the mind with an expansive store of intelligence, and so [illegible].

There can be no doubt that the discussion of the great principles involved in the anti-slavery enterprise has prepared the public mind for a clearer appreciation of the importance of the Cause of Peace—for [illegible] the [illegible] of man to [illegible]. It is impossible that those engaged in efforts to secure the right to liberty, should not acquire some vivid impressions of the sacredness of the right to life. In fact, all discussions about human rights, tend to harmonize the mind, and disclose the grandeur of man's nature.

In England, the anti-slavery agitation has brought out in bold relief principles, which are now seen to be applicable to other grievances than those of the slave. It has given strength to the claims of the Free Suffrage and Free Trade movements. Such was not the intention of the originators of the agitation. They, themselves, we suppose, did not see all the inferences which could be deduced from the doctrines they promulged—nor did they foresee, that the success of their measures for popular agitation, would be a warrant therefor a mode of agitation. But, this is always the case. We see through a glass darkly. Men awake all at once to a common evil. They see that it exists in violation of a Great Principle. Their only hope for its redress, is in urging the claims of the law, which it violates. The struggle which ensues, with its attendant discussions, brings to light other evils, with the bearings of the same Great Principle upon them. It may be a long while before these men will acknowledge all the practical applications of their principles, and still longer, owing to the opposition of their own self-interest, before they will consent to make them.

Thus, in this country, there are anti-slavery men, zealous in applying the principle of Equality of rights to the case of slavery, but reluctant to admit its application to other questions.

In the former, they see more clearly, because the medium is undisturbed by any self-interest—in the latter, their vision is clouded because their own interests are involved. In Great Britain, the same remark holds good. Many, who saw clearly that Human rights were outraged in the case of West India slavery, remain yet to be convinced that the restriction of the right of suffrage to seven or eight hundred thousand men in a population of seven or eight millions, is a gross violation of the same sacred rights. Hence too, the unhappy want of union among the different classes of English reformers. One class goes for free trade alone—because its own interests will be promoted by it. Another class goes for repeal, because this will extend its power. A third class, and we believe the honest one, favors Repeal, and Free Trade, but contends for Universal Suffrage, as the first great good to be achieved. These men may act unwisely in many respects, but theirs is the true doctrine—they are the consistent reformers—and success, we doubt not, awaits them.

It is to be deplored, that the advocates of all the various enterprises which contemplate man's elevation, and improvement, [illegible] not unite in their efforts. He, who, in supporting one reform, deals a blow at another less popular one, acts ungenerously, weakens his own influence, and injures his own cause. This is the fault of the repealers of this country. They vainly think they can carry forward the cause of repeal, founded on precisely the same principles as those of the anti-slavery movement, while at the same time they array themselves in bitter hostility to this movement. It is simple suicide.

The British administration is strong, not in itself, but in the divisions of its adversaries. Causes which should be bound together with bands of iron, agitators who should unite in an unbroken phalanx, are disorganized, scattered, warring upon each other—their sole strength consisting in certain great principles which they hold in common, their weakness springing from the fact, that they will not unite in consistently applying them—each using them for his own advantage, but denying the benefit of them to his neighbor.

It is time this state of things should cease. In [illegible] they have got the start of us in England. The advocates of Peace, Temperance, Anti-slavery and Education, in that country harmonize. We [illegible] that the World's Peace Convention and the World's Anti-slavery Convention, and the great Temperance Gathering, were held on [illegible]. The same principles, the same spirit, guided the same men in both. How long ere such a state of things be witnessed in this country?

The Wesleyans who seceded lately from the M. E. Church on account of slavery, number now [illegible] hundred preachers in their connection. The [illegible] Visiter, Baltimore, commenting on this secession remarks:—

"The main cause of this disaffection, no true patriot can contemplate without feelings of deepest awe. It is working [illegible] mischief—as [illegible] almost every sect in the land, to [illegible] which we may present at some future time, but [illegible] indicate. Such a state of things is calculated to lead a worthy slaveholder—whose position the immediate abolitionists cannot appreciate, while yet too ready to denounce most rudely—to pray God to open some speedy and safe way for freeing the country of the curse of slavery. Such have often been the feelings of hundreds of other Southerners."

PAUPERISM.—The ninth annual report of the Poor-law-commissioners, recently presented to parliament, states, that out of sixteen millions of [illegible] England and Wales, one eleventh, or 1,428,356, are absolute, recognized paupers; and that in 1842, not less than £4,036,453, or eighteen millions of dollars, were levied from the rest of the country, for their maintenance—two thirds as much as the whole amount of expenditures of the United States *ought* to amount to.

CANAL AT PANAMA.—Messrs. Baring & Co. of London, have entered into a contract with the republic of New Grenada, in virtue of which is to be ceded [illegible] the line required for the projected canal, with 8,000 acres of land on the two banks, and 400,000 in the interior. The work, employing about 4,000 or 5,000 men, is to be completed in five years.

Women Abroad.

When the heart of woman becomes [illegible] in any reform, we may be sure that [illegible] is [illegible] and real. One of the most remarkable features of the present [illegible] in Great Britain is the [illegible] of woman. They hold meetings, organize associations, make speeches, in short, are real agitators. The actors generally, are the wives and daughters of the oppressed poor.

In a late English paper we noticed reports of several women's meetings, held in the mining districts of England. At one of these at New Castle, this paper informs us that a lady arose, and in a very able manner showed the [illegible] schemes resorted to by the classes [illegible] to take advantage of the poor oppressed pitmen.

"The employers took advantage of class-made laws to screw down their wages below starvation point, besides robbing them of the real quantity of their work earned, by "that which is an abomination to the Lord"—an unjust balance. The farmer in the vicinity of the colliery, again took the advantage of the poor pitmen, by charging [illegible] more for the produce [illegible] the expense of [illegible] it to market. The grocer again, in his turn, took a similar advantage. The butcher, the draper, and the whole [illegible] and [illegible] took undue advantage of the poor [illegible] wealth producers."

Other ladies addressed the meeting in a similar strain. Committees were then appointed to apprise the women of several [illegible] collieries, that an out-door meeting would be held [illegible] evening at the Railway bridge.

At the appointed hour, the [illegible] was thronged. [illegible] women were present, besides the men who had come as spectators. Addresses were made by several ladies; and the following resolutions were then unanimously agreed to.

"1. That we, the female population of [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible], [illegible] in an [illegible] to form an association for the mutual protection of each other from the daily encroachments made upon the scanty pittance earned by our fathers, husbands, sons and brothers, for the subsistence of our families.

2. That we do hereby pledge ourselves to pay no more than the following for necessaries of the best quality; namely, new milk, one pint and a half, 1d.; butter, 8d per lb; butcher's meat 4½d per lb; bacon 4½d per lb; potatoes, 4½d per stone; and that we will discontinue the use of those articles until they can be procured at these prices.

3. That it being the opinion of this meeting that the coal-miners of Great Britain are suffering a greater amount of oppression and tyranny than any other body of men, we [illegible] most solemnly pledge ourselves in one every [illegible] by the [illegible] to [illegible] fathers, husbands, sons, brothers, and sweethearts, in procuring those rights to which they are fully entitled as Englishmen and as Christians. The meeting then adjourned until next Tuesday evening."

There are those in this country who will be disposed to ridicule such proceedings; but we cannot laugh at any movement so indicative of deep distress. We know the enduring nature of woman and her love of the household. Terrible indeed must be the grievances, which have torn her from the tranquility of home, and driven her out as an actor on the public stage.

Spain and Cuba.

Since the revolution in Spain, which resulted in the flight of Espartero, and the triumph of the Cortes, the English papers are indulging in speculations concerning the bearings of that event on affairs in Cuba. Valdes, the Captain-General of this island, is the devoted friend of Espartero, but obnoxious to the slaveholding interest, on account of his efforts to restrain the slave traffic. Whether the Spanish population will attempt to drive him out, and whether he would not, in that event, make his appeal to the colored people, bond and free, are questions of deep interest. The convulsions in the mother country, a civil war in Cuba, the influence of British [illegible] in the adjoining islands, and the [illegible] of the French government to put an end to slavery in the French islands, may [illegible] in the breaking up of slavery in Cuba.

Wheat in England.

The editor of the Boston Free American, who has just returned from England says, that the accounts there on the whole has been [illegible] to wheat—that although the growth appears rather luxuriant, yet in many parts the heads are shorter than usual, and not well filled. The harvest will be much delayed, owing to excess of rain. The stock of wheat on hand is thought to be small—not more than enough for a month, or six weeks' supply, and inquiries in the Baltic ports show that their exports will be small.

Nothing can afford a more painful [illegible] of the abominable oppressiveness of the Corn Laws, than such a state of things, in which the absolute necessaries of life for twenty-five millions of people, are made to depend upon the chances of the weather for a single month.

The Sandwich Islands.

A great clamor was recently raised by that class of agitators, [illegible] who seem to think that America is in danger of being victimized by Great Britain, against the outrage of a British subordinate in taking possession of the Sandwich Islands. It [illegible] his act was unauthorized, and despatches have [illegible] by the government to the officers, acknowledging the free independence of King Tamehameha III, and the Sandwich Islands from Great Britain or any other country."

This is just what might have been expected.—The British Government would hardly be [illegible] enough to set at defiance the public opinion of the world, and excite hatred against herself, by an act of such wanton aggression.

A Strange Question.

The publishers of the "[illegible]," lately addressed a letter to Henry Clay, desiring to know his views "as to the station that the mechanical portion of our population should occupy in the United States, and also as to the subject of Home Industry and manufactures." It may be a matter of some [illegible] in the South, what station mechanics should occupy, but in the free States, we should as soon think of asking what station the capitalist or professional man should occupy.

WOODEN CLOCKS.—The Yankees have got their wooden clocks into England, and the wooden nutmegs, we suppose will follow next. Joshua Leavitt says—

"A friend in the country wished me to see an English cottage, and took me [illegible] of a modern structure. The mistress of the cottage had been a servant in the great house near, and on her marriage her master had given her a "musical clock" which was most highly prized. So, [illegible] was set to play its music, on hearing which I thought the sound was not unfamiliar, and [illegible] the clock itself looked as if I had seen its fellow, and on examining the inside of the case, I found the agents' card—"Sperry & Bowery, New York"—a genuine Connecticut wooden clock, and the "musical" part was merely the ordinary striking part, which is furnished, you know, with a spiral steel wire in place of a bell. I have not seen any wooden nutmegs."

Book Notices.

"THE POETRY OF LIFE,

By Mrs. Ellis, author of "Women of England,"

[illegible] W. H. Moore, & Co. Cincinnati.

There are moments in the life of the most worldly man, when the better nature turns away in disgust from the dull realities about him, and longs for [illegible]. He is just the one [illegible] to read the "Poetry of Life," and we would recommend him to the company of Mrs. Ellis, who has the happy knack of finding poetry in every thing. Only let him shut out from his mind the [illegible] question of *what is all this worth?* or *how much can I make by this speculation?* and he will find her a delightful [illegible]. She will teach him the art of extracting poetry from all the sights and sounds of earth, [illegible] man.

A short extract from her chapter on the poetry of rural life, will [illegible].

"[illegible]"

This will be too sentimental, we suppose, for some of our readers, who are ready to exclaim with the [illegible] Charles Lamb—[illegible]

HISTORICAL CHART

Presenting at one view the History of the world from the earliest times to the present day.

ABEL S. LYMAN, CINCINNATI.

Mr. Lyman deserves great credit for this ingenious and profitable invention.—We know of nothing so well adapted to impress upon the mind the chronological order of events. The remembering of dates, with most persons is a difficult task. The Chart of Mr. Lyman gives form and coloring, and relative, visible distances to dates; thus fastening them upon the mind, through the vivid impressions of the eye. It is 20 feet long, in three divisions of 12 feet each, so constructed that they can be hung up around a room, in a continuous chain, or placed, one under the other. The whole represents the stream of time from the beginning of the world, to the present day. The histories of contemporary nations are represented by differently colored streams, running parallel; when a nation begins, a stream begins, and runs on, till merged in the stream of another nation which swallows it up, and then runs on wider than before, till itself is lost in another swelling stream. Events are written down just where they took place, important ones in large letters, less important in small. The student may read them at the distance of 10 or 15 feet, some indeed as far off as 30 feet. In truth we can hardly conceive of a more pleasant employment, than to seat one's self in the centre of a room, around which the world from the beginning to this day is hung up, and its nations, with their rise and decline, and all important events in their exact order, visible at one view, making an impression that cannot be effaced.

The Chart may be had at the low price of six dollars. We have no hesitancy in commending it to every family or person able to purchase it. The following certificates are of importance. Mr. Aydelotte is the well known lecturer upon History; Mr. Wilber, is principal of the Female Collegiate Institute of Cincinnati; Mr. Ray is professor of Mathematics and Philosophy in Woodward College, and President of the Board of Trustees of the Public Schools of Cincinnati; Mr. Vandoren is principal of the Female Institute, Cincinnati.

* * * * "I consider this Chart an invaluable addition to the means of instruction in all our educational institutions, from the Common School to the College and University.

B. P. AYDELOTTE."

* * * * * * "I can cordially recommend it to all teachers and learners, who appreciate the importance of the most interesting and instructive study.

C. E. STOWE."

"I would recommend Mr. Lyman's historical chart from a certain knowledge of its immeasurable importance in acquiring distinct conceptions of history by methods which years of reading could not supply. If time is a treasure of greater value than wealth, when both are saved in conducting the studies of youth, we have gained a very high object. And I am persuaded that this chart not only far excels every preceding effort of the kind, but also that in one month, more competent knowledge of history can be gained by its inspection than in one year by any course of reading.

S. [illegible]."

We cheerfully concur in the above opinion respecting Mr. Lyman's historical chart.

P. B. WILBER,
JOSEPH RAY,
J. L. VANDOREN.

The Power of Letters.

A friend [illegible] addressed to Judge Jay a few [illegible] lines on the [illegible] of professed Democrats [illegible] him to a [illegible] station, because opposed to Slavery, concluding as follows.

"Let the [illegible] despots take
"The [illegible]; let them wreak
"Their [illegible] they make
"[illegible]
"To [illegible]. Their names shall rot,
"[illegible] by [illegible]."

Some of the Eastern [illegible] of them with the following [illegible] which we quote for the [illegible] of our friend.

"————Their names shall rot,
"While thine shall [illegible] by [illegible]."

This is only another example of the power of letters.

☞ We learn, that a Liberty convention is to be held at Lockland, next Saturday week.

Facts for the People.

NO. VIII.

The eighth number of the Facts is at last issued. It contains the glorious letter of John Quincy Adams, published in to-days' paper, and a part of the excellent address inserted on our first page. The number is a rich one. We have now above 4000 subscribers to the Facts. Send in your orders.—Weary not in well doing. Swell the number to 10,000! By the way, none need send for any back numbers. Every edition published is completely exhausted.

Bills.

With this number of the paper, we send bills to our subscribers. We hope to have immediate responses. Never did we need money so much.

Great Oakland Convention.

Next Monday the Anniversary of the Ohio A[illegible] [illegible] out of our power. It is the intention of Messrs. Chase [illegible] this Convention. We hope our friends at Oakland will remember the Philanthropist. Thus far, the series of Conventions in this state, has turned out admirably. Liberty men [illegible] have united in them most harmoniously, and our friends [illegible] the East have done excellent service.

Encouragement from the East.

The Liberty Press wants us to put his name down as a subscriber. That's encouraging.—Why not? It will be a great triumph to establish a Daily on a permanent foundation.

RIVER AND WEATHER.—After a fall of rain [illegible] unusual for the season, the weather has cleared up beautifully, though it is rather warm. Under present influences, the corn crops will come on finely.

The late rains have extended as far east as Pittsburg, in which place we learn, that on Sunday last there was a severe thunder storm. The rain poured down plentifully, and at 7 o'clock in the evening the river was on the rise. A note to the Commercial editor of the Gazette says, "The new steamer, Ohio Mail, left yesterday, crowded with passengers for [illegible]. The R. Clayton leaves to-morrow."

DEDICATION.—The corner-stone of a new Methodist meeting-house, to be called Morris Chapel, was laid yesterday afternoon, in presence of a large concourse of people. The services were performed by the Rev. Mr Maffit. This church is, we understand, to be erected forthwith. Its situation is on Western Row, west side, between Fourth and Fifth streets.

LATEST FROM MEXICO.—An arrival at N. Orleans on the 19th inst., brought the following intelligence, for which we are indebted to the Picayune of that city:

"We learn by this arrival that the Mexican Government has received the most authentic intelligence of the defeat of General Armijo, near Santa Fe, by the Texans. The particulars had not transpired, but we are assured that there is no room to doubt the success of the Texians. Santa Ana is represented as very [illegible] the affair, and it is regarded as very materially complicating the difficulties under which Mexico is now labouring."

LATEST FROM CHINA.—By the Ship Thomas Perkins, at New York on the 24th inst. from Canton, news to the 18th April was received by the Journal of Commerce. There is nothing in it of much importance.

"Some disorders occurred at Canton on the 12th. The [illegible] was originally between some "[illegible]" and the keeper of a gaming house—[illegible] of the [illegible] was killed and another mortally wounded.

The people of Whampoa had sent up a deputation to remonstrate against the English being allowed to build factories there. The Emperor says, however, that the English have [illegible].

The French Frigate, Erigone, and the United States Frigate Constellation were at the Bogue. The commanders had gone to Canton to have an interview with the Chinese authorities."

YELLOW FEVER AT PHILADELPHIA.—There has been a case of yellow fever in Philadelphia. It was the captain of a vessel, who had just arrived from New Orleans.

YELLOW FEVER IN NEW YORK.—The New York Express of the 25th has the following:

"*Another Death by Yellow Fever.*—The North River Pilot who piloted the schooner Vanda up the North River and returned in her to the Quarantine, died at the Quarantine Hospital yesterday of Yellow Fever."

Mysterious.

The Ohio Whig Standard tells a strange story about some twelve or fourteen clocks, lately discovered in the stump of a large tree, near the line, between Muskingum and Morgan counties.

The wood-work is entirely gone. It is supposed from appearances that they must have been lying there for fifteen years. A hole was discovered through which the clocks had been passed.

FIRE AT SACKETTS HARBOR.—The latest N. York papers contain an account of a disastrous fire which occurred at Sacketts Harbor on the morning of the 21st inst. It originated in the large store of S. T. Hooker & Co., extended some distance east to the store of Wm. Burchly, then crossed the street and consumed the Commercial Hotel, and the buildings on that side up to Centre House—the buildings on both sides of Bayard st. to the Presbyterian Church followed next, and many of the buildings and stores, together with an extensive livery stable, were burnt before the flames could be stopped. The extent of the loss, which is said to be great, is not stated.

CHURCH ESTABLISHMENTS.—The Scottish church has fallen. The success of the Repeal cause will secure the downfall of the establishment in Ireland. And Puseyism bids fair to subvert the church of England.

☞ Last Saturday week at New Haven, in this county, the Liberty men held a large convention, and were addressed with great effect by Messrs. Brisbane, Birney and Morris.

☞ LETTER OF HON. JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.—We hope none of our readers will forget the letter of John Quincy Adams, concluded to day on our first page.

DOWNWARD TENDENCY.—We see whiskey quoted in the papers as having a *downward tendency*. We think it has, and so have those who drink it.

U. S. SCHOONER GRAMPUS.—The last lingering hope in reference to this vessel, appears to have given place to despair. There is no doubt that the vessel perished in some such-gulf-storm as that which carried down the Hornet some years since. The crew numbered seventy-one souls—Lieutenant Commanding, Albert E. Downes.

POETRY.

THE MORNING LIGHT.

BY PARK BENJAMIN.

Thou cheerful morning light!
How through my [illegible] streams thy welcome ray!
Thou [illegible] precursor of the perfect day,
Dispeller of the night!
Who [illegible] thy gentle beam?
Not he whose hours are passed in revelry,
Not he who wakes at no [illegible],
No [illegible] to no dreams,
He who forgets his care
Beneath the wing of soul-entrancing sleep,
Thanks thee not—[illegible] that nightly keep
Their watch above the sea—
More [illegible] for than these—
For on the [illegible] they [illegible] to gaze,
But [illegible] the curtains [illegible]
Fell on the [illegible]
Yet [illegible]
The sailor, [illegible]
With [illegible]
Thou words of [illegible] tell.
For on the [illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible] and [illegible].
The happy, [illegible] child,
[illegible] on his bed,
[illegible]
The maiden with [illegible] cheek,
[illegible]
[illegible]
The [illegible] her eyelids seek.
And he who at the shrine
[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]
Even I, who [illegible]
[illegible] bright,
For [illegible] cheerful morning light.
[illegible]

TOUCHING INCIDENT.—It will be remembered that a little boy named Clark disappeared on the day of the launch, and much reason existed to believe that he was drowned. After several days of agonizing suspense, his parents residing in Shippen street near Ninth, were confirmed in their belief, by intelligence which seemed to place the matter beyond doubt. None but parents can imagine their distress and anguish. While they were plunged in the deepest sorrow, a stranger, apparently a seaman, arrived at their house. He inquired if they had not lost a son, and stated that he had recovered the body, which he had picked up while on his way to Burlington. He was the captain of a sloop trading to that place. It was some comfort to the poor people to obtain even the dead body of their child, and they accordingly expressed their gratitude to the waterman. But a most joyous surprise awaited the father and mother. While the kind and considerate captain was pondering on some mode of communicating, by degrees, information which he knew should be given cautiously, the little son, who had been waiting without, and could restrain himself no longer, rushed into his mother's arms. He had been taken up alive by the captain of the sloop, soon after the capsizing of the boat in which he had been stationed to see the launch. The sudden transition from grief to boundless joy, almost proved fatal to the poor woman. She fainted on the spot, and it was several hours before she was prepared to realize her happiness in the recovery of a child which she had supposed lost to her forever. The father was scarcely less affected.—*Phil. Mer.*

BUDDING FRUIT TREES.—It will not be expected that we shall describe the several modes of budding, in our paper, as more may be learned in a half an hour in the field than by a day's reading. A person must have some foundation to build on before he can improve by reading. You cannot show a boy how to hold a plough by writing on the subject, if he never before saw a plough run.

Budding may be performed at any time when the bark peels easily; but there is an objection to budding very early lest the bud should start and grow, and not be matured sufficiently for winter.

Pear trees stop growing sooner than apple trees and they must be budded sooner. Peach trees grow later than either and may be budded later. In some situations the peach in [illegible] and uncultivated, ceases to circulate sap before the first of August, and it must be budded in July. Damp weather is better for budding than a dry atmosphere.

August is the time which is generally chosen for budding, but peach trees may be budded in September for many seasons. As they make much wood after August and cause the band around the bud to draw too tight and endanger the stock, it is advisable to look to it and loosen it as the trees grow larger.—*Mass Ploughman.*

A "CUTE TRICK" OF RUNAWAY NEGROES. The N. Y. Standard states that recently about twenty slaves in the State of Maryland took it into their heads to make a push for Canada. They met together in a common band, in Baltimore county. They proceeded as far as the bridge at Havre de Grace, where they sent two of their number forward, to make the experiment of crossing. The gate keeper refused to let them pass.—The couple then returned to their companions, when after some consultation, they built a coffin of rough boards, put it on a bier and placed one of their number in it. Then in a solemn funeral procession they marched up to the bridge, and asked the privilege of crossing to bury their *friend* on the other side. The *ruse* took. The procession crossed over, and kept on the highway, till they got out of sight, they then took to the woods again, and *resurrected* their dead companion. So says a fugitive, who saw several of them in Philadelphia. They deserve their freedom, after such a successful "operation" as that.

A LARGE ISLAND DISCOVERED IN THE PACIFIC.—The U. S. sloop-of-war Boston, just arrived at Boston, brings intelligence that Capt. George E. Netcher, of the whaling bark Isabella, of Fair Haven, reported at Tahiti, April 12th, the discovery of a beautiful fertile island, extending about forty miles from North-East to South-West. He named it "Eadie's Island," after the man who first discovered it—it not being laid down in the charts. This island is situated in latitude 11 deg. 05 min. South, longitude 165 deg. 05 min. West.

A correspondent of the Newburyport Herald states that Capt. Charles M. Bailey, of that town, not yet 29 years of age, has made seventy voyages to Porto Rico, fifty-four of which were in capacity of master. In a single instance only has he met with accident, and that not exceeding $70. Many of his outward passages have been made in seven days, and the average of his out and home voyages has been about forty days.—Who can tell a better story?

Old bachelors do not live so long as other men. They have nobody to darn their stockings and mend their clothes. They catch cold, and there is no one to make them sage tea—consequently they drop off.

Died.

Yesterday, August 30th, at 12½ o'clock, the Rev. ADAM HURDUS, in the 84th year of his age. His body will be taken to the New Jerusalem Temple, on Centre street, at 4 o'clock this day, where the Rev. J. Prescott will officiate in the funeral service. His friends are invited to attend without further notice.

COMMERCIAL.

WESTERN MARKETS.

CINCINNATI, Aug 29.

FLOUR is dull at $3.62, at which price it is held at the Canal, and sold from wagons.

PROVISIONS.—No movement in the market just now.

CINCINNATI, Aug 30.

FLOUR—Receipts yesterday by Canal, Railroad and wagon, 478 bbls—sales at $3.62, chiefly to Flat Boats.

CINCINNATI, Aug. 31.

FLOUR—is rather dull, and sold at $3.57 yesterday.

LINSEED OIL is a shade firmer. Sales at the mills last night at 58cts.

ATLANTIC MARKETS.

NEW YORK, Aug 23.

The Flour market was inactive. Genesee was held at $4.94, [illegible] per bushel, [illegible] mess pork sold at $11.37½; 400 prime do. at $10.12½; 1,000 kegs lard brought 5 to 5½.

NEW YORK, Aug 25.

[illegible] heavy. 1,000 bbls. Genesee sold at $4.94. Michigan and Ohio were held at $4.75 @ 4.94. Cotton was in good demand. Jersey corn sold at 60cts. Ohio oats, of different dates, from 90 to 91¼ @ 91½.

BALTIMORE, Aug. 23.

Flour $5.25 and 5.37. Fine hogs were scarce, and sold at $4.25. No transactions in barrel meats. Small sales of prime western bacon, assorted, at 4½cts. Hams 5 to 7cts, according to quality. Last sales of Western lard, No. 1, were made at 7cts.

BALTIMORE, Aug 26.

Flour $4.62½ @ 4.87½. Wheat 1.00 @ 1.06. Corn 48cts.

PHILADELPHIA, Aug 25.

Flour $4.75 to 5.00, as per quality. Rye flour 3.12½; new wheat $1.00 per bushel; corn 55cts.

BANK NOTE AND EXCHANGE LIST.

(Predicated on Specie.)

Ohio.	
Ohio Life and Trust Co.	par
Lafayette	par
Franklin	par
Commercial	par
Mechanics and Traders'	½ dis
Massillon	
Circleville, old	
Wooster	
Xenia	
Sandusky	
Geauga	
Norwalk	
Zanesville	
Steubenville, old bank	
Western	
St. Clairsville	
Mt. Pleasant	
Clinton Bank of Columbus	
New Lisbon	
Dayton	
Western Reserve	
Franklin Bank of Columbus	
Commercial Bank Scioto	15 dis
Chillicothe	½ dis
Lancaster	15 dis
Hamilton	15 dis
Lake Erie	20 dis
Cleveland	30 dis
Miami Exporting Co.	35 dis
Urbana	45 dis
Granville	75 dis
West Union	no sale
Lebanon	
Miamisburgh	
New Steubenville	
New Corrierville	
Indiana.	
State Bank and Branches	½ dis
Scrip, old dates,	15 dis
Kentucky	
All solvent Banks	½ dis
Virginia.	
Eastern solvent Banks	½ dis
Wheeling	½ dis
Illinois.	
State Bank	50 dis
Shawneetown	60 dis
Missouri.	
State Bank and Branches	par
Tennessee.	
Memphis	3 dis
Other solvent Banks	3 dis
Alabama.	
Mobile	20 dis
Other Banks	20 dis
Wisconsin.	
Marine & Fire Ins. Co., Milwaukie	3 dis
Georgia.	
Augusta	5 dis
Savannah	5 dis
Other Banks	uncert'n
North Carolina.	
All solvent Banks	3 dis
South Carolina.	
All solvent Banks	3 dis
Louisiana.	
Specie paying Banks	2 dis
Eastern Banks generally.	
New England	2 dis
New York city	½ dis
country	1½ dis
Pennsylvania	uncert'n
Philadelphia city	½ dis
Baltimore	½ dis
Maryland	3 dis

EXCHANGE.

Selling Rates by the Banks and Brokers.

Boston	1½ prem	Baltimore	1½ prem
New York	1½ prem	New Orleans	1½ prem
Philadelphia	1½ prem	St. Louis	1½ prem

RETURN!

NATHAN SMITH, or Prosser, as he may be called, will hear of something to his advantage if he will visit his father, at Waynesville, Warren Co., O. Nathan was taken from Kentucky, by a family named Hicklin, to whom he was bound. He was then heard of at Rawles county, Mo., which it is supposed he left for Illinois. He is about 28 years old. Papers in Illinois are requested to copy and oblige a distressed parent.

EDWARD SMITH.

Waynesville, Warren Co., O. aug 28-tf

LOOK HERE!

DAVID TILSMAS, late of Leominster, Herefordshire, in Old England, who arrived at New York, June 18, 1842, is requested to apply to Dr G. Bailey, Ed. Philanthropist, who will inform him of something to his advantage.

aug 28-tf

GEO. H. BATES & CO.

Corner of Main and Front Streets,

ARE now receiving their fall stock of DRUGS, PAINTS and DYESTUFFS—and invite the attention of Dealers generally.—All articles warranted of good quality, and prices reduced.

aug 28-3t

NEW MEDICAL BOOK, 5TH EDITION.

100 UNITED STATES DISPENSATORY, by Drs. Wood and Bache, new edition, entirely remodeled, and enlarged more than one hundred pages. Published by Grigg & Elliott, Philadelphia. This day received and for sale, for CASH only, at the publishers' lowest prices.

WINTHROP B. SMITH,

Aug. 28. -tf 54 Main st.

SUNDAY SCHOOL BOOKS.

THIS day received, a new supply, at the Bible, Tract, and Sunday School Depository. For sale by GEO. L. WEED.

Also, a new supply of D'Aubigne's History of the Great Reformation, at one dollar for 3 vols., or in one vol. for 75 cents. aug 31-tf

TEMPERANCE HYMN BOOK AND MINSTREL.

A COLLECTION of Hymns, Songs & Odes, for Temperance Meetings and Festivals, for sale by GEO. L. WEED.

Also, the "WASHINGTONIAN HARP," a collection of Original Songs, adapted to familiar airs, for Washington Temperance Societies.

aug 31-tf

F. D. PARRISH, [illegible] and Counsellor at Law, [illegible] City, Erie co. O.

aug 28-tf

OUR MOTHERS.—Round the idea of one's mother, the mind of man clings with fond affection. It is the first thought stamped upon our infant hearts, when yet soft and capable of receiving the most profound impressions, and all the after feelings of the world are more or less light in comparison. I do not know that even in our old age we do not look back to that feeling as the sweetest we have known through life. Our passions and our wilfulness may lead us far from the object of our filial love; we may learn even to pain her heart, to oppose her wishes, to violate her commands; we may become wild, headstrong and angry at her counsels or opposition; but when death has stilled her monitory voice, and nothing but calm memory remains to recapitulate her good deeds, affection, like a flower beaten to the ground by a past storm, raises up her head and smiles amidst her tears. Round that idea, as we have [illegible] and even when the earlier period of our loss forces memory to be [illegible], and twines the image of our dead parent with a garland of graces, and beauties, and virtues, which we doubt not she possessed.

☞ A Correspondent of the New York American, writing from Lewistown, after describing the visit of John Q. Adams, to Niagara Falls, proceeds as follows.

I doubt whether there is any fact in history or geography connected with the Falls or chain of great lakes which has been developed from the time of La Salle's voyage of exploration to the present day, with which he is not particularly and exactly acquainted. It is sad to think that a mind so gifted, so stored with knowledge attained by unremitted study during a great portion of a century—an intellect so active, must, in the order of nature, so soon cease to be. I sincerely concur with the worthy captain of one of our steam boats, who said to me the other day, "O, that we could take the engine out of the old 'Adams' and put it in a new hull."

PLOUGHING IN GREEN CROPS.—Living plants contain not only all they have drawn up from the soil, but also a great part of what they have drawn down from the air. Plough in these living plants, and you add to the soil more than was taken from it—in other words, you make it richer in organic matter. Repeat the process with a second crop, and it becomes richer still—and it would be difficult to define the limit beyond which the process could no farther be carried.

The iron trade of England appears to have suffered worse than any other branches of business. A letter states that out of 137 furnaces in Staffordshire only 73 are in blast, and the men have turned out rather than submit to any further reduction in their wages. The same has taken place in Wales among the colliers. Railroad iron is offered at £4 10s per ton.

PROSPECTUS

OF THE

CINCINNATI MORNING HERALD

THE subscriber proposes to commence on the 28th of this month, the issue of a daily paper, to be entitled THE CINCINNATI MORNING HERALD.

The Constitution of Ohio declares, "that a *frequent* recurrence to the fundamental principles of civil government is absolutely necessary to preserve the blessings of liberty."

These principles are, the equality and indestructibility of human rights; and the necessity of religion, morality and knowledge to the good government and happiness of mankind. That the public mind has ceased from a frequent recurrence to these doctrines; that the two principal political parties, in their contests for power, and strife about mere pecuniary questions, have almost lost sight of them; that a gross system of oppression, founded in the entire disregard of them, has been extending itself among us, until it has usurped the control of the general government, embarrassed the financial condition of the country, poisoned to a fearful extent public sentiment, and placed this nation in an attitude of direct antagonism to its own avowed faith; while the press generally has remained silent and subservient, making no effort to expose its disastrous influences, or to excite an opposition to its encroachments the principles and spirit which gave character and power to the Revolution that achieved our Independence—must, we think, be admitted by every reflecting mind.

The leading object of the HERALD will be to supply so far as may be in its power, this lack of service, [illegible] induce its readers constantly to recur to the fundamental principles of civil government, and apply them faithfully to every question of public interest, especially to the contest now waged between Liberty and Slavery, Free Labor and Slave Labor.

Such will be its leading object; but other topics of interest will receive a due share of attention. It is intended to make it a faithful journal of the times, and ample space will be devoted to general intelligence, commercial notices and miscellaneous documents.

The HERALD will be printed on good paper, size royal, at five dollars a year—or two dollars and a half payable semi-annually in advance.

GAMALIEL BAILEY, JR.

Cincinnati, August 8, 1843.

NOTICE.

State of Ohio, }
Hamilton Common Pleas. }

IN CHANCERY.

Lydia P. Ransom, complainant,
vs
William Peters, Sarah Peters, Rees Pritchard, and Sarah Pritchard his wife, defendants.

BE it remembered, that on the 30th day of May, 1843, the above complainant filed her bill in this Court, against the above named defendants; the object and prayer of which bill is that the said William Peters be compelled to render an account of the estate of Andrew Peters, late of said county deceased, that the lands of which the said Andrew Peters died seized, situate in said county, may be partitioned, and complainant's share set off to her in severalty, and that dower may be assigned to the said Sarah Peters, all which will more fully appear on reference to said bill on file as aforesaid.

Now, in pursuance of the Statute in such case made and provided, NOTICE is HEREBY GIVEN, of the pendency of said suit, and the said Rees Pritchard and Sarah Pritchard his wife, (as to whom the Sheriff has returned "not found") non residents, are hereby Notified, that unless they appear and plead, answer, or demur, to said bill according to law, they will be in default, and same will be taken as confessed against them and a decree be had thereon accordingly.

J. W. PIATT,
Clerk, Court Com. Pleas, Hamilton co. Ohio.
CHASE & BALL, Sols.

Cincinnati, 28th of August, 1843. 6-w

SCHOOL BOOKS.--THIS DAY RECEIVED.

1,000 PARLEY'S Geography;
200 Burritt's do of the Heavens;
200 Webster's 16 mo. Dictionary;
200 Kirkham's Grammar.

Just received in exchange for my own publications, and for sale at Eastern prices for cash only.

Also, a large assortment of Stationery generally, purchased in the East for cash, and for sale at a slight advance over cost.

The subscriber is sole publisher of the Eclectic School Books.

Booksellers and County Merchants are invited to call and examine.

WINTHROP B. SMITH,
Publisher and Stationer,
No. 54 Main st., East side, near Columbia st.
Aug. 28.-tf

JAMES G. BIRNEY, Attorney and Counsellor at Law, Saganaw City, Michigan.

J. G. Birney will also act as Land Agent in the land district in which this Saganaw county is. He will make investments for others in lands; pay over for non-residents their taxes, and give information generally to persons interested in this part of the country, or desirous of becoming emigrants to it.

Saganaw, 1843. aug 28-tf

Communications.

[For the Philanthropist.

Mr. Editor.—The communications heretofore published in your paper, signed one by "Justice," and one by "Equity," appear to require the publication of the following documents, in justice to both parties. They were left in my hands some time since, to prepare for publication, with a reply or review of the arguments contained in brother Wright's letters. The cares of a farm, attending various public calls, with frequent ill health, have together prevented a compliance with my engagement; and I can now only give the papers with a very brief history of the case,—but, if Providence permit, shall probably recur to the subject at a future day.

I have no quarrel with Br. Wright or the perfect, would be [illegible] [illegible] of the acts of [illegible], it a liberty and right that a Christian should yield to expose whatever is supposed wrong, to warn against the evil of persisting in the wrong, and to point out the right, are duties too sacred to be neglected.

That Br. Wright thinks his motives good, I have no doubt; the question is not as to his motives, but as to the tendency of his acts. I am among those who believe that American slavery, that "sum of all villanies," exists now by the permission of the American churches; that if the M. E. church had maintained the position she occupied in 1801, slavery would now either have been abolished, or so restricted in its influence as to promise its speedy [illegible]. But I commenced this paper merely to repeat again that however Br. Wright may differ with me on this subject, he cannot be more attached to the M. E. Church than myself, and he cannot more ardently desire her increase in grace and peace; but if peace can only be secured by the tolerance of the "sum of all villanies" in our members and preachers, then let us have contention, and God prosper the right.

The application to hold a Wesleyan Anti-slavery prayer meeting, was made to the Ninth street M. E. church, and not to the Asbury church, as stated by "Justice."—The application and refusal are as follow:

"The members of the Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Society, of this city, would respectfully pray your honorable board, to grant them the basement of the Ninth st. Church, on the night of the ——————, for the purpose of imploring heaven's blessing to rest upon our beloved Zion, particularly upon that portion of our church situated in the slave states, and more especially upon the thousands of our brethren and sisters who are in slavery.

Hiram S. Gilmore."

Here follows the answer:

"Cincinnati, 17th March, 1841.

"*To Matthew Simpson, Esq. President of the Cincinnati Wesleyan Anti-Slavery Society:*

"Your communication of the 25th ultimo, requesting the use of the basement of the Ninth street Church, for holding a monthly concert of prayer, was last evening laid before a meeting of the Board of Trustees of said Church, who have unanimously instructed me to say to you, and through you to the Society of which you are President,—that as we are chosen to act for the best interest of all the members of our church, who honestly hold opposite opinions on this subject,—and as we most earnestly wish to avoid any act which might have a tendency to destroy that harmony which ought always to be cultivated among members of a church, we feel it our duty most respectfully to decline your proposition.

"In behalf of the Trustees of the M. E. Church of the western charge of Cincinnati, I am, very respectfully, yours, &c.

M. [illegible]"

The application referred to in the following paper, was made without my participation. I have often been asked to speak, and generally complied, but had no desire to speak in that church.

This paper explains itself.

"At a meeting of the Board of Trustees of Asbury Chapel, held at the preacher's office, Feb. 27, 1841, the President laid before them a communication signed G. McCullough and other brethren, requesting the use of the basement room, for the Revd. S. Lewis, for the purpose of expressing his views on the subject of slavery.

"After duly considering the subject submitted to them, the Board passed the following resolutions:

"*Resolved*, That it is inexpedient to grant the use of the Chapel for the purpose above expressed.

"*Resolved*, That the President of the Board communicate this decision to the brethren who have made the application, and express to them briefly, in writing, the reasons which have governed the Board in making it.

"Extract from the minutes.

"Saml. Williams, Sec'y."

"Dear Brethren:

"In complying with the instruction of the Board, found in the above resolutions, I might [illegible] several reasons which have impelled them to the decision they have made, but the following is deemed sufficient, and I hope it will be entirely satisfactory to you, viz:

"To admit discussions on the exciting subject of slavery into Asbury Chapel, would most certainly produce in our peaceful society and congregation, contentions, strife, and divisions. As proof positive that this would be the sad result, we are already notified that if the speaker desired by you, should be permitted to express his views on the subject of slavery, a demand will be made for the Chapel to reply to those views.

"And now, brethren, as you regard the peace of our society, and the prosperity of the cause of God among us, (for we have the prospect of a gracious revival,) we believe, if you were called upon to decide the question you have submitted to us, with a knowledge of the facts as they are presented to us, you would make the same decision we have made.

"Your petition has been respectfully received and duly considered, and the decision made with the kindest feelings of brotherly love, which we sincerely hope will continue among us, and abound more and more in our infant charge.

"I remain, your brother in the bonds of Christian love.

"John F. Wright,
"Pres't of the Board.

"Brethren Geo. McCullough, John White, Wm. Washman, D. Raymond, A. Peacock."

A private room was procured where Anti-Slavery prayer meetings were held, and a br. from Asbury, made to me the following verbal statement which I wrote down at the time, and presume is correct:

"Anti-Slavery notices had been read without objection, until one was offered when Br. Wright was in the pulpit, and its reading was refused. The preacher in charge told Br. M. that one of the Trustees had told him that the Trustees had ordered that such notices should not be read."

Soon after this, but at what day cannot be stated, for the papers are without dates, the following resolutions were offered at the official meeting of the station, the preacher in charge being chairman, he refused to allow them to be put, as he thought them out of order. They are as follows:

"*Resolved*, That while we would not call in question the good intentions, or impugn the motives of our brethren, the Trustees, [illegible] Anti-Slavery [illegible] the Asbury station, the tendency of which, in our opinion, will impair the harmony and disturb the peace of our christian society,—we would kindly and respectfully, but earnestly request [illegible] the said order or resolution with a view to its being rescinded.

"*Resolved*, That our Trustees are hereby respectfully requested, to grant their permission that such notices be given publicly by the preacher in charge."

Br. ——— furnishes me with the following statement of what took place the same evening:

"After the steward's and leader's meeting was over, the male members were requested to wait, and one Br. was called to the chair, the resolutions were put and passed without discussion. A majority of the whole meeting that attended that evening, voted for them. No votes were given against them, but Brs. Lender, Gilbreath, Woodruff and Taylor declined voting." Very soon after, the following paper was prepared and signed.

"To the Trustees of the Asbury Chapel.

"Whereas, the aforesaid resolutions, having been offered by one of the members of the Steward's and Leader's meeting, and the chairman of said meeting having refused to entertain the motion for their adoption,

"We the undersigned members of said meeting do hereby protest against the exercise of such power, and in view of all the action which has been had on this subject, and of our rights and duties in regard to it, —do adopt the following resolutions to wit:

"*Resolved*, That we will continue to use all lawful measures, and prudent and honorable means to secure the accomplishment of the object we have in view; and we shall never rest satisfied while our preacher in charge is so instructed as not to read such notices.

"That many of us which have hereto affixed our names to the above request now made to the Trustees, have not any connection with abolitionists, but for the sake of harmony and good christian fellowship, wish to remove any thing that we believe has a tendency to wound the feelings of our brethren.

"George McCullough, Southwell Royse, Wm. Wartman, John C. White, Joseph Garrett, Daniel Raymond, George Fox, Edward Inskip, Amos Williams."

The Secretary of the Trustees was asked to furnish a copy of the prohibitory resolutions, to which he replied as follows:

"Br. McCullough:

"I send you, annexed, a copy of the order passed by the Trustees of Asbury Chapel, at their meeting on the 25th of August last, to which you referred yesterday. The copy is furnished with this understanding, that if it be published, you will, as a matter of justice, publish with it the answer of the Board to the communication from yourself and others, requesting the repeal of the order in question.

"Yours respectfully,
"SAMUEL WILLIAMS, Sec'y.
"Cincinnati, Nov. 25th, 1842."

"*Ordered*, that the preacher in charge be requested to read no notices of Abolition meetings, in the pulpit of Asbury Chapel."

The following is the paper which Br. Williams asks should be published, if the resolution is published.

"*To Joseph Garrett, J. S. Risley, George Fox, Edward Inskip, and others.*

"Dear Brethren:—Your petition or communication to the Board of Trustees, requesting them to rescind an order which they had passed at their meeting on the 25th of Aug. last, requesting the preacher in charge not to read any Abolition notices from the pulpit, has been respectfully received, and at our last meeting was referred to a committee of the Board to consider and report thereon, which has been done, and the Board, after mature consideration of the subject, have directed the following answer to be returned to you. In this you will find the reasons which have influenced them in the course they have adopted.

"You say in your first Resolution, 'We will continue to use all lawful measures, and prudent and honorable means to cause the accomplishment of the object we have in view, and we never shall rest satisfied while our preacher in charge refuses to read such notices, or is so instructed by our said Trustees not to read them.' Now, brethren, we affectionately ask you to examine this language with coolness and deliberation. In it you not only place yourselves in a hostile attitude against the authorities of the church in our charge, but you declare your fixed purpose never to rest satisfied until you shall have carried your point. The language you must admit, declares war and determines on its continuance until victory is obtained. We submit it to your judgment, whether this is language [illegible] love, and a desire to promote peace? And is it consistent with that [illegible] which the scriptures enjoin, and which we should all feel and exercise? Many of you no doubt affixed your names to it without much examination and did not perceive at the time, all its force and the full extent of its meaning; and we have confidence to believe that on a review of it you will disapprove of it as much as we do.

"In your 2nd Resolution you say, 'Many of us who have hereto affixed our names have not any connexion with Abolitionists, but for the sake of harmony and good christian fellowship, wish to remove any thing that we believe has a tendency to wound the feelings of our brethren.' To such as have no connection with Abolitionists, we desire to address a few words separately.—And suffer us to enquire if you have not many brethren belonging to the charge who are not Abolitionists? And do you not love them and respect *their* feelings, and 'wish to remove any thing that would have a tendency to wound *them*?' Now we assure you there are many in our charge high in your confidence and esteem, whose feelings would be wounded at hearing Abolition notices read from the pulpit. And the reason is, they believe the announcement of those notices engenders strife, and disturbs the peace of society, which they hold very dear to them. Another reason why [illegible] them, is, they believe those meetings unauthorized by the Discipline and usages of our church, and that they will lead to fixed parties in the church, and may finally lead to a separation from it. These being the honest convictions of your brethren in regard to the legitimate tendency of these unauthorized meetings, you must plainly see the reasons why they are wounded whenever they hear them announced from the pulpit. Suppose you make an estimate of the number who are wounded because these notices are not read by the preacher in charge—surely no more than the number who take an interest in, and attend those meetings. Now estimate the number who would be wounded at hearing them read to the congregation by their pastor.—On which side do you find the greatest number? And which course would produce the greatest injury? If you really desire to promote the harmony, peace, and prosperity of the church—and we believe [illegible] the information of those meetings can be easily [illegible] among all who may desire to attend them, without [illegible] from the pulpit. We pray you, then, brethren, think calmly of these things, and examine these remarks in the light of sober reason, and we believe you will find grounds to suspect that you might have pursued a more christian way to secure peace in our society than by urging the course pursued by the petition.

"We are left to infer from the language of your petition, that some of you have a connection with Abolitionists. We would very respectfully and affectionately address a few words to you in particular. It is probable your zeal has been the means of your urging this matter with so much earnestness, and you may think it a very small thing you desire us to do. We estimate it differently. We see, or think we see in it, a spark of fire that may in the end produce great evil to the church. And when the final results are developed, it may well be said "behold how great a matter a little fire kindleth." In 1824, when the "Union Societies" were formed in many places in the church, it was thought to be a very small matter, and notices of their meetings were read by some of the preachers from the pulpits. Those meetings were said to be conducted with great propriety, and were opened and closed with prayer. And yet a party was organized, and an influence combined in them which in four years resulted in a secession from the church, of many thousands. Such a result may be very far from your minds at present. But we are convinced it is the design of the leaders of the party with which it appears you are connected, and many of them have been bold enough to declare their designs openly. One writer in the N. York "Watchman," of the 20th of October, gives his entire approbation of a general convention proposed by another, and fixes the 30th of May next as the time of holding it. He proposes the question of separation from the M. E. Church, for discussion, and closes his communication with these remarkable words—'We must have at no distant day, a church on anti-slavery principles—a church in which the rights and powers of all shall be properly secured and balanced. I believe the blessing of Heaven would rest upon a church founded on such principles, and there are many in New England who are anxious for such an organization. *Let us*, then, all prepare for a general rally in the spring, and separate ourselves—if we have not previously done so—from all connexion with slavery.'

"This writer appears to be an itinerant preacher of more than twenty years standing in the M. E. Church. Another prominent and influential writer in the abolition ranks closes a communication against the church in the same paper, by asking this question: 'And is it schism to disconnect ourselves from such a church when there is no longer any hope of reform?' Bro. O. Scott is fully aware that schism is a great sin, but it seems, from this question he asks, that he has well nigh persuaded himself that the Methodist Episcopal Church is so wicked that it is not schism to agitate her by sowing dissensions in her Societies, and finally leaving her communion, and influencing as many as possible to escape with him. We have ample proof that a general secession from the church is gravely contemplated by the party, and it is anticipated by many as absolutely certain. Indeed it would seem there are many who are so zealous in the work of division that they cannot wait until spring, or for the general convention, they must leave the church forthwith. A secession of twenty five has already taken place at Pen Yan, N. York, and the editor of the organ of the party, in remarking on their unflinching character, says, 'they will not be coaxed or cajoled back into the old church until it puts away the abomination of slavery, and also the despotism of Episcopacy.'

"Now, brethren, we cannot—we dare not—give countenance to any measure which we believe will produce 'schism in the body.' Such are our views of the fearful magnitude of the crime of dividing the church of God, that we are determined not to participate in it even in the smallest degree. Others must do this work of dividing chief friends and of destroying souls from the beginning to the end, and upon them must rest the whole weight of responsibility. You may think it gratuitous in us, but we are constrained from sincere love to you and to the cause of Christ, to address you in language of high authority —'mark them that cause divisions, and avoid them.' Brethren, pause; seriously examine your position, and see if you are not in imminent danger. We beseech you to watch and pray, lest the disaffection you now feel grow into a wide breach between you and your beloved Zion, and lest at an evil hour, when excitement runs high, and the strong current of secession is brought to bear upon you, you might be induced to rush from the bosom of that church in which you have been 'nourished and brought up,' and where the Lord has blessed you a thousand times.

"In conclusion, we would address all whose names we find affixed to this petition, jointly. We assure you, brethren, we respect your opinions highly, and in many things we would be pleased to have your counsel, and under other circumstances we would delight to comply with your request. But you will perceive from what we have said, that we cannot, consistently with our views of duty, rescind the resolution refered to in your memorial.

"Yours in the bonds of peace and love,

"Signed by order and in behalf of the Board, JOHN F. WRIGHT, Pres't.
"Samuel Williams, Sec'y.
"Cincinnati, Nov. 14, 1842."

The whole correspondence is now before the public, and they can judge for themselves.

If any other person should review the papers signed by Br. Wright, I will at a future day endeavor to do so.

I had not intended to publish these papers now, but friends think they should be before the public at once. Truth can do no harm, and no truth is worth preserving that will not bear investigation. To avoid all mistake, let it be understood, that whatever I publish in reference to this matter, will be over my own signature. And as there is no other medium for the discussion of this subject, the columns of this paper will be used, if allowed.

SAMUEL LEWIS.

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MASON'S SACRED HARP, vol. 2. A new and enlarged edition of this valuable work will soon be published, [illegible]

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In no country, perhaps, are diseases of the Liver more common than in the West [illegible]

From the Rev. M. Burdett.

This may certify that Mrs. Burdett has been afflicted [illegible]

M. BURDETT.

[illegible]

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[illegible]

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[illegible]

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ROBERT [illegible]

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